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BIBLICAL ARCHAEOLOGY, 1926

PALESTINE IN GENERAL HISTORY

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BY

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PALESTINE IN GENERAL HISTORY

I

DOWN TO THE FALL OF NINEVEH

By the Rev. Prof. THEODORE H. ROBINSON, D.D.

I

DOWN TO THE FALL OF NINEVEH

WHEN the medieval cartographer depicted the world as a circle whose centre was at Jerusalem, he was doubtless actuated by theological motives. Nevertheless, his judgement has been in large measure confirmed by history. Palestine is a small country, with comparatively slender natural resources. Though we can trace for at least six millennia the story of organized and civilized human life in the countries on either side, this land has been the seat of an independent national state only for a few centuries in all. No great material discovery was ever made there; no characteristic form of art was ever developed within its borders, and, except in the realms of politics and religion, its thought has been negligible. Yet it may safely be said that, in proportion to its size, Palestine has assumed an importance in human history greater than that of any other country in the world, and it was not an accident that the decisive military action of the Great War was fought upon its soil.

Between the twenty-fifth and the thirty-fifth parallels of north latitude there lies a strip of territory of a fairly uniform type, extending from the Atlantic in the west to the border of the central Asiatic mountain system in the east. To-day most of it is barren, with land suited to cultivation only in the great river valleys and in the 'fertile crescent', but in early times, before the northward movement of the belt of moist westerly winds, it consisted of grassy steppe.[1] Recent anthropological study has made it probable that it was in this area that man made the greatest of his many changes in the social and economic order, and passed from the more animal stage of the simple food-collector to the

[1] Cf. H. J. Fleure, *Early Neanthropic Man and his Modern Representatives*; *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, vol. 50 (1920).

typically human order of the food-producer. Whilst pasturage may at one time have been possible over most of this region, it seems probable that agriculture was developed only in the river valleys, and the desiccation of the greater part of the area has left the corn-lands of Egypt and the fertile crescent almost the only habitable portions of this belt. An economic map of the territory in question thus emphasizes its division into two land masses, largely separated by water, and throughout the historic period this isolation has been intensified by the sterility of the great Syrian Desert, which serves as a more effective bar to communication than even the sea. The only bridge between the Asiatic and the African sections of this region of original civilization is that which is offered by Palestine. A map of the ancient world which indicates its trade-routes will show at once how many of them converge on this narrow corridor, through which in all ages of history the products of one continent have passed to another. The story of Palestine is thus bound up with the story of the nearer east, and in both we have to recognize three main divisions of the stretch of history under review, the early period, that of Egyptian influence, and that of Assyrian domination.

A. *The Early Period*

Whilst the taming of animals and the beginnings of pastoral life may have taken place independently in many different regions of the earth, some eminent anthropologists hold strongly to the belief that the settled life of the agriculturist originated to the east of the Mesopotamian river valleys. The earliest settlement known is commonly placed at Susa, and it is a familiar fact that the land to the north of the Persian Gulf was cultivated by the Sumerians, and, perhaps, even before them. Though it is claimed in some quarters that the oldest sites of a genuine civilization are to be found in Egypt, the evidence suggests that some of its most important features are borrowed from an Asiatic source. The cultivated grains of the ancient world are barley and

a species of wheat. Both have been found wild in the fertile crescent, and there seems little doubt that they are indigenous to that region. Barley was native also to north Africa, at least to the country between the Nile Delta and the Cyrenaica, but wheat was probably introduced into Egypt at the end of the fifth millennium B.C. It seems to have come through Palestine, which was thus early serving as a passage for the products of the Asiatic civilization. Similar evidence is afforded by the appearance of metal. None is found in Palestine or in Egypt, though the copper mines of Sinai have been worked from an early period. But there is reason to suspect that the original source for this metal lay in the north, and that it was first used in Mesopotamia, whence it was handed on to Egypt. One of the most ancient pieces of Egyptian carving known to us is the famous Gebel-el-Arak ivory knife-handle.[1] Here we have a figure of a hero attacked by two lions which cannot be independent of the traditional representations of Gilgamesh in Mesopotamia,[2] though the workmanship is clearly Egyptian.[3] Even in the pre-dynastic period there was more or less regular intercourse between Asia and Egypt, and we may conjecture that this, or a large portion of it, passed through Palestine.[4]

[1] Cf. Frankfort, *Studies in the Early Pottery of the Near East*, i (No. 6 of the Supplementary Papers to the *JEA*, with the illustration on Pl. xii); *CAH*, i, pp. 91, 571, 580.

[2] Cf. such seal-designs as those figured in King, *A History of Sumer and Akkad*, facing p. 75.

[3] Hall, on the other hand (*Discoveries at Tell-el-Obeid in southern Babylonia, and some Egyptian Comparisons*, *JEA*, viii, pp. 241 ff.), is inclined to think rather of Egyptian influence spreading to Mesopotamia, though he suspects that the potter's wheel is of Sumerian origin.

[4] Frankfort, however (*Egypt and Sinai in the First Intermediate Period*, *JEA*, xii, pp. 80 ff.), gives reasons for thinking that until the advent of the camel, whose bones are not found amongst remains of the earliest periods, trade between Egypt and the north and east was carried on by sea. A gradual change began with the sixth dynasty, and land traffic increased till it 'developed into a Syrian influx' with the downfall of the Old Kingdom.

But while from the first Palestine thus served to unite Egypt with Mesopotamia and Anatolia for purposes of commerce, it was for many centuries a political barrier between the two great land areas. Each of the ancient seats of civilization and of empire thought of the country as the farthest limit of its interest. Both from early days looked to the Lebanon for supplies of timber, but neither seems to have contemplated reaching out beyond the middle line and trying to take possession of what lay on the farther side. As early as the beginning of the third millennium we have a glimpse of the country from the Egyptian point of view, and a painting in the tomb of Inti, of the fifth dynasty, depicts a raid on a south Palestinian village.[1] Pepi I seems to have claimed authority over the land, and it is possible that a naval expedition sent out by him did something to subdue the tribes north of Carmel.[2] But there is no trace of any attempt at real conquest; no effort is made to establish a garrison, or even a trading factory.

Another picture is given to us by the story of Sinuhe,[3] who is placed in the twelfth dynasty, though the narrative which deals with him comes from the fourteenth. By this time the tribes of the north are regarded as a real danger, and we may suspect that Lower Egypt had suffered from their inroads during the disturbed period between the sixth and the eleventh dynasties. A wall, strongly built and manned by watchful sentries, runs across the isthmus of Suez—or as much of it as is not defended by water—and it is evident that the Egyptians kept out their barbarian neighbours much as the Romans in Britain protected themselves against the Picts. There is free intercourse between the Asiatics and Egypt, for we hear of a sheikh who has

[1] *CAH*, i, pp. 289 ff.; Hall, *Ancient History of the Near East*, p. 137; Petrie, *Deshâsheh*, Pl. iv.

[2] Breasted, *History of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 121; *CAH*, i, p. 293.

[3] Cf. Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte zum Alten Testament*, pp. 55 ff.; Breasted, *History of the Ancient Egyptians*, pp. 158 f.; Hall, *Ancient History of the Near East*, pp. 157 f.; *CAH*, i, pp. 226 ff.

been in Egypt, but there is no question of political dominance. Palestine is largely inhabited by nomads, with a more settled community in the north, especially at Byblos, and the fugitive Egyptian makes his home among them much as an American of the eighteenth century might have found a refuge and a welcome in the wigwams of an Indian tribe.[1]

It is during the third millennium B.C. that we have also the first references to Palestine in Mesopotamian records. Early in the twenty-ninth century, Lugalzaggisi of Erech claims to have extended his conquests to the western sea, and beyond it (to Cyprus?).[2] He was followed by the famous Sargon of Agade,[3] and, a generation later, Naram-Sin repeated the conquests of his predecessors. It has even been held that he came into collision with Narmer, usually identified with Menes, the founder of the Egyptian first dynasty. Naram-Sin claims to have invaded a country named 'Magan' and to have captured its king, 'Mannu', but it does not, on the whole, seem likely that Magan was Egypt or the Sinai Peninsula, and to date Naram-Sin as far back as the first Egyptian dynasty makes serious difficulties in chronology.[4] There is, however, no doubt as to his conquest of Syria, and it is probably to this remote period that we must assign the introduction of those features of the Mesopotamian culture which are so characteristic of Palestine in later centuries.

Strangely enough the annals of Khammurapi contain little reference to Palestine. He is, indeed, called 'King of Amurru' in one inscription, and the term may imply an

[1] Sinuhe is placed in the reign of Amenemhet I (2000 B.C.?), and while he is said to have wandered as far north as Byblos and as far east as the hills beyond Damascus, his ultimate Syrian home was amongst the 'Retenu', near 'Ja'a'. The description of the land, with its crops, its trees, and its pasture land, suggests middle Palestine—the Esdraelon district, perhaps.

[2] Cf. King, *History of Sumer and Akkad*, pp. 233 ff.

[3] Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte zum Alten Testament*, p. 335; Hall, *Ancient History of the Near East*, pp. 184 f.; *CAH*, i, pp. 404 ff.

[4] *CAH*, i, pp. 172, 269, 412 ff.

extension of his empire as far as the Mediterranean, but this conclusion is by no means certain.[1] The most direct evidence, in fact, is the presence of an ancient tradition—probably somewhat distorted in the course of time—in Gen. xiv, which speaks of a raid by a certain Elamite king, Chedorlaomer (=Kudur-Lagamar, a possible name, though it has not yet appeared in inscriptions), on southern Palestine. The three kings who contribute to his forces include Amraphel, who is almost certainly meant to be Khammurapi. The other two kings, Tid'al, king of 'Goyim', and Arioch, king of Ellasar, have not been identified. The former may have been an early Hittite sovereign, and the latter has been held (on quite inadequate grounds) to be the famous Rim-Sin, defeated and overthrown by Khammurapi. But while we should like to be a little more sure of our details, the narrative at least suggests that Khammurapi extended his empire to the far west.

There are two striking features of this whole period. The first is that while we have references from both Egypt and Mesopotamia, neither mentions the other, and (except possibly in the very doubtful contact between Naram-Sin and Narmer) there is no sign of a clash or even of a meeting between the two great powers. Each keeps to itself and pursues its way in apparent ignorance of the other. On neither side is there any attempt at formal and permanent conquest. Palestine was a no-man's land, and it was enough for the kings in both directions that they should lead their armies into this comparatively savage border territory and bring back spoil. Neither sought to make a settlement; both were satisfied with mere raids which gave them supplies of produce and of slaves. Even in the Lebanon, which was visited by the emissaries of both, there seems to have been no conflict, even no contact, between the two

[1] King, *Letters and Inscriptions of Ḥammurabi*, vol. i, p. 170; Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte zum Alten Testament*, p. 338; *CAH*, i, p. 493. The name 'Amurru' seems to have been rather vague, and does not necessarily include Palestine; cf. *CAH*, i, p. 230.

great world powers, and they remained unconscious of one another. In the long run the clash was inevitable, but it was necessarily postponed till one or other developed a scheme of definite conquest, and tried to win dominance over the whole known world. Formal occupation by either power was yet some centuries away, and when it came it was due in the first instance to the activities of neither Egypt nor Mesopotamia.

The second point of importance is at first sight difficult to reconcile with the facts that have just been noted. It is clear that while there was no definite occupation by Babylon, the influence of Mesopotamian culture made itself felt in no uncertain fashion. The material objects used, valued and imitated in Palestine and Syria were drawn, it is true, from many sources, and the excavations at Byblos have shown how thoroughly mixed were the pottery and sculpture of the age.[1] But it was Mesopotamia whose impression was stamped on the thought of the western lands. Centuries later the official language of Palestine was Babylonian, for that speech was used by Palestinians writing to the Egyptian court, even when it was not wholly familiar either to the writer or to the reader. In later Israel we find traditions and legal codes whose ultimate Babylonian origin is unmistakable. It is true that there are differences between the Hebrew traditions of Creation and of the Flood on the one hand, and the parallel Mesopotamian epics on the

[1] It is abundantly clear that in the second millennium B. C. Byblos formed a centre of culture to which many nations contributed; cf. the golden pendant figured by Gressmann, *Altorientalische Bilder zum Alten Testament*, ii, Pl. xcv, fig. 224 (from Byblos), compared with the Mesopotamian pendant on the same plate, fig. 222, where it is clear that we have a Mesopotamian design in the Byblos article, though the latter is of native workmanship. For illustrations of a similar confluence of cultures in Syria at a later period, cf. the objects shown on Pl. ccxxxi (fig. 613) of the same volume. Cf. also Volz's illustrations of Cherubim (*Die Biblischen Altertümer*, Pl. i, facing p. 12), where the Phoenician form is obviously a mixed type, showing clearly the combination of a Mesopotamian conception with Egyptian technique.

other, which make it impossible for us to think of direct literary borrowing from those forms which are known to us in the cuneiform tablets. It is equally true that even the Book of the Covenant in Exod. xxi–xxiii cannot have been copied immediately from the Code of Khammurapi. But at the same time the resemblances are so close as to preclude an entirely independent origin, and we are practically forced back to the conclusion that both the early traditions and the laws of Israel belong to that common stock of thought which is otherwise best known to us in Babylonia. Codes similar to that of Khammurapi are known to us from Assyria and from Anatolia, though here again there are noteworthy differences. The very divergences of Hebrew tradition and law from other types show that they must have had an independent history of generations, perhaps of centuries, and we are thus led to throw their first introduction into Palestine back into a period long before the coming of the Hebrews into the land. At no time between the reign of Khammurapi and the advance of the later Assyrian empire westwards could Mesopotamian influence have been strong enough to produce this effect, and accordingly it is to this early period that we must assign the infiltration of Sumerian cosmology and Babylonian law into the country.

The first half of the second millennium saw a change pass over the eastern world. Impelled by economic or other causes, the peoples of the far north-east began to move into the fertile crescent. New races appeared to challenge the monopoly in civilization held by the peoples of the great river valleys. Men of language hitherto unknown pressed in among the inheritors of the old Mediterranean and Mesopotamian culture. With the region of the Oxus as their common starting-point, some made their way westwards, crossed the narrow waterways that separate Asia from Europe, or passed to the north of the Black Sea, and finally destroyed or expelled the old Aegean civilization. Others, with a more southerly trend, established themselves on the

northern border of the fertile crescent, reaching down into the Euphrates plain, and occupying the upper tracts of that great river valley. A third group spread more directly southwards, and found for themselves a new home in the mountains to the east of Mesopotamia, whence they entered the lands which had so long been the seat of a highly developed culture. That same general stirring of the peoples, which brought the Greeks into the country ever afterwards known by their name, was responsible also for the foundation of the realms of the Mitanni and the Kassites.

Whilst in the Mediterranean lands the new settlers so completely overthrew their predecessors that it is only in our own generation that the existence of these latter has come to light, the eastern conquerors—perhaps because their victories were easier—were content to exercise sovereignty over the peoples already in occupation. Their intrusion was a political incident, not a cultural revolution. It had, nevertheless, consequences of the greatest importance for the history of the eastern world. The old empire, so magnificently exemplified in Khammurapi, gradually decayed; the 'Sea-peoples' to the south secured their independence, and in the eighteenth century the native princes of Babylonia were superseded by a line of Kassites. The new dynasty was able to hold its place for nearly six centuries, but in general its rule was unenterprising, and northern Mesopotamia saw the first rise of a strong Assyrian power during this period.

The comparative weakness of Mesopotamia left room for further development in the west. Our direct knowledge of the actual course of events is very scanty, but it is clear that the Semitic peoples of the west, having gained in general culture from their intercourse with Mesopotamia, gradually built up a great political power, whose centre was, possibly, as Breasted [1] believes, at Kadesh on the Orontes. Our opinions of this empire (if we may use the term) must be largely based on conjecture, but it seems

[1] Cf. *History of the Ancient Egyptians*, pp. 180 f., 210.

that they had received from the moving races to the north one acquisition which was invaluable, the horse. To the possession of this animal and to their bronze scimitars they may have owed their strength. Certainly these peoples, either as an organized army or as isolated bands of marauders who were tempted by easy conquest to settle on the land, invaded Egypt, and dominated the country, especially in the north. We know little of them beyond the fact that some of them bore Semitic names, and that their more enlightened kings adopted Egyptian manners and culture as far as they could, but later Egyptians generally speak of them only in terms of abuse. But we do know that they remained in power for two centuries, and that they were finally driven out of Egypt by a genuine national rising under the kings who founded the eighteenth dynasty. The whole period of the Hyksos is one of the most obscure in Egyptian history, which is the more to be regretted, inasmuch as it marks the end of the Egyptian indifference to Syria. Henceforward Egypt found Palestine vital to her own safety and independence.

B. *The Period of Egyptian Dominance*

With the expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt ends the first period in the history of Palestine. They were driven out by the founders of the eighteenth dynasty, and it must have been clear at once that, if the country were to be secured against further inroads from the Semitic barbarians, it was not enough merely to restore the old wall across the isthmus; some attempt must be made to subdue Palestine itself, and so to secure at least a bridge-head beyond the narrow desert which forms the north-eastern frontier of Egypt. It may well have seemed also that final security could not be attained unless definite conquests were made even farther north and east, and so arose the conception of an Egyptian empire, which, while controlling other peoples, should at the same time secure the Nile valley from Asiatic invasion. The first king of the restored line, Ahmose

I, set the example by pursuing the retreating enemy into Palestine, and driving them to a safe distance from the frontier. Similar raids were made by his successors, and before the end of the sixteenth century Thutmose I had set up a column of victory on the banks of the Euphrates itself. But the great kingdom of Kadesh still claimed authority over a large part of Palestine, and remained a serious threat to Egyptian security. In spite of occasional Egyptian raids, there were garrisons and subject allies of Kadesh as far south as the plain of Esdraelon, which might well have been used as a base of operations against Egypt if a strong and aggressive king secured the throne. It was probably such considerations as these which led the great king Thutmose III to make the first definite attempt at Asiatic conquest ever undertaken by an Egyptian monarch. The latter part of his reign was marked by a long series of campaigns against the north. In the first of these (1479 B.C.) he broke the power of the Semites in central Palestine at Megiddo. It is interesting to note that this is the first battle in history of which we are able to construct anything like a detailed plan.[1] For nearly twenty years Thutmose led annual expeditions into Palestine, and thoroughly subdued the country as far as the Euphrates. It was not always necessary for him to fight; the people were too completely cowed to offer him resistance, but his policy was slowly to isolate and surround Kadesh, and in 1459 he crowned his life's work with the capture of that city and the final destruction of its power as a Semitic imperial state.

Palestine was now definitely an Egyptian province, and remained nominally subject to the Egyptian court for centuries. But after the death of Thutmose III the royal control was exercised only spasmodically. Occasional inroads were made down to the time of Amenhotep III; tribute was still paid, and many of the cities contained Egyptian garrisons, whilst others were held by native princes as

[1] Cf. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, ii. 417–28; Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte zum Alten Testament*, pp. 83–7.

vassals of the Pharaohs. But foreign officials and local dynasts alike were allowed a large measure of independence, and there was no real attempt to organize the Egyptian power. Left to themselves these local governors might have remained more or less loyal, for the memory of the great fighting kings endured, and might have served to maintain at least the name of empire. But new forces were coming into being, and in the turmoil of the early fourteenth century some stronger incentive to loyalty was needed than that which could be supplied by an absent suzerain, who regularly demanded tribute but supplied neither protection nor punishment.

For three-quarters of a century after the death of Thutmose III we have only occasional references to Palestine, but from about 1380 the curtain is lifted, and the Tell-el-Amarna tablets give us one of the most vivid pictures we have of any period in ancient history. We are conscious of a world of great powers of nearly equal strength, amongst whom Egypt, in spite of her great prestige, is by no means the most powerful. The kingdom of Mitanni now clearly holds a place in the front rank, though its zenith seems already passed, and the Hittite power in Anatolia is making its presence felt in the south, holding the land at least as far as Kadesh. There is correspondence between the Egyptian court and Mesopotamian sovereigns, and Palestine is once more a border country, nominally under the authority of Egypt, though that power is far from being what it was in the days of Thutmose III. At the same time enemies are threatening from the outside. The powers are jealous of one another, and, in spite of a certain friendly tone in their dispatches, it is clear that the international equilibrium is unstable. The Bedawin tribes of the desert are pressing in, nominally in the pay of one or other of the local dynasts, but in reality seeking only plunder and land for themselves. This is not the place to discuss the vexed question of the relation of the Khabiru to the Hebrews; most of us would probably be content with such a conclusion as that of Dr.

Wardle,[1] who believes that the two overlapped, some of the Khabiru being ancestors of Israel, some of the early Israelites being Khabiru. But whether there is any connexion between the Hebrews and the invaders of the Tell-el-Amarna period or not, it is clear that both represent the same tendency. There are frequent movements of the desert tribes towards the cultivated territories, and they make repeated efforts to enjoy the fruits of the cultivated lands, and even to effect a permanent settlement. The Hebrews were probably not the first invaders, and our Biblical records show that they were not the last.

This is not the place to describe in detail the events of the reign of Ikhnaton. The story can be read in the tablets themselves, or in numerous able modern interpretations.[2] In the midst of the confusion and turmoil of the period, there are two permanent and decisive factors. The first of these is the utter ineptitude of the Egyptian government. It may have been true that a statesman far up the Nile was in no position to distinguish between truth and falsehood, or to decide who was loyal and who was traitor,[3] and the only method which could have succeeded was the invasion of Palestine by a large army under the leadership of the king himself. But Ikhnaton was probably too insecure to take such a step, even if his instincts had permitted him. His religious policy had alienated the Amon priesthood, the most powerful element in the state, and any attempt to emulate Thutmose III might have left his kingdom exposed to his enemies, even if he had been able to count on the loyal service of an army.

The second outstanding feature of the period is the skilful and consistent policy of Shubiluliuma, king of the Hittites. Too wise to embark on the difficult and expensive task of subduing Palestine himself, he nevertheless lay behind every

[1] Cf. *Israel and Babylon*, pp. 41 ff.

[2] e.g. Knudtzon, *Die el-Amarna Tafeln*; *CAH*, ii, chs. 6, 11, 13.

[3] For a popular interpretation of the period, cf. J. Baikie, *The Amarna Age*, esp. p. 368, &c.

movement which tended to weaken and overthrow the power of Egypt. Invaders and traitorous vassals alike found support from him, and he used their abilities to the full,[1] and in the end subdued not only Mitanni but also the greater part of Palestine. Geographical references are uncertain, and it may be that his formal occupation of the land did not extend farther south than the Lebanon,[2] but the Hittite influence certainly spread farther south into Palestine proper. It seems that Egyptian control over the country ceased entirely for a time,[3] and it may well be that the vacant place was occupied by Hittite settlers. In the eighth century Assyrian geography regarded Palestine as far south as the plain of Esdraelon as 'the land of the Hittites'.[4] It could be said of Israel in the sixth century that its 'mother was a Hittite' (Ezek. xvi. 3, 45), and the narrative of Gen. xxiii, which may well preserve an ancient Israelite tradition, though its present form is post-exilic, seems to place Hittites as far south as the Hebron district. Further, the characteristic physiognomy which we usually associate with Jewish blood more strongly recalls the Anatolian type represented on the Hittite monuments than that of the normal Semite or Arab. These facts, taken together with the persistent tradition which includes Hittites amongst the pre-Israelite inhabitants of Palestine, make it clear that at some period in the past that people must have exercised a very large influence over the country, though few, if any, material relics of their occupation have yet come to light. Whilst detailed accounts are lacking, we know enough of the general history of the nearer east during the duration of the Hittite empire to be certain that the only

[1] Cf. Hall, *Ancient History of the Near East*, pp. 351 f.; Garstang, *The Land of the Hittites*, pp. 326 ff.

[2] Garstang, *op. cit.* p. 336.

[3] Archaeological evidence tends to show that a few important fortresses, e.g. Beth-Shean, were held by Egyptian garrisons till their capture by the Philistines (see below, p. 23), but they can have exercised little control over the country as a whole.

[4] Cf. the 'Taylor-prism' of Sennacherib, ll. 34 ff.

interval during which this influence could have been exercised was in the fourteenth century, between the Tell-el-Amarna period and the Egyptian revival under the nineteenth dynasty.

The reign of Ikhnaton had thus brought down on Egypt all those evils which threaten a country when the government is interested in theological dogma rather than in political practice. Internal dissension had been accompanied by foreign weakness, and when political stability was restored, there was little left of the old Egyptian empire in Asia. The invaders from the desert were still troublesome; many had been either beaten back or absorbed in the population, but there were frequent raids from beyond the Jordan. We have no evidence as to the organization of the Hittite power, but its authority over Palestine, as far as it went, seems to have resembled that of Egypt. That is to say, while there may have been foreign governors appointed in a few places, and there was certainly a strong settlement as far south as Kadesh, for the most part the country was in the hands of native rulers, who enjoyed a moderate degree of freedom, provided only that they supplied their overlord more or less regularly with tribute. When, therefore, the nineteenth dynasty reunited and revived the power of Egypt, the situation was almost the exact opposite of what it had been three-quarters of a century before. It was now the turn of Egypt to be the invader, and in face of the weakening Hittite power, an expedition by Seti I (1314) found it an easy task to secure the nominal homage of the country. Experience must have taught the Egyptian court that an authority of this kind, with a powerful rival on the northern borders, was anything but secure. Ramses II realized that it was necessary to go beyond the frontier if it was to be safe, and early in his reign embarked on the most famous of his expeditions. His objective was Kadesh itself, and we are all familiar with the account he has left us of the battle, and with his own claims to personal prowess. It goes without saying that he claims a great victory, but later

events show us that the Hittites were far from being subdued, and whilst the final treaty left Ramses in possession of Palestine, he could claim but little north of the Lebanon.[1] It was doubtless a gain to have recovered a secure hold on Palestine proper, but there seems to have been no attempt to evolve an improved organization. The old, insecure methods were followed; the land was left largely to petty native princes; and Ramses' successor, Merneptah, found it necessary to invade the country in his third year.

It is in the record of this last event[2] that we meet for the first time with the name of that remarkable people with whom Palestine is always connected in men's minds. There can be little doubt that the Israelites were as thoroughly composite as any race that has ever held the country. There is evidence to show that there was a large element in the population which was on the spot before the Hebrew conquest took place, and that this was absorbed by the invaders. Yet it is a notable fact that the national traditions preserved in Hebrew literature all claim to be concerned with a group of Aramaean tribes, who, to judge from the available evidence, contributed but a small proportion to the actual blood of the later people. Round the inner, or desert, edge of the fertile crescent these wandering folk have ranged from time immemorial, and the story of Israel's origins was traced back to a group of such people whose civilized focus was Ur. Moving thence northwards, perhaps owing to political disturbances of which no details survive, they found a new centre near Harran[3] in the north of the fertile crescent, and a further stage of migration brought a section of them into Palestine, and so right to the borders

[1] Cf. *CAH*, ii, pp. 149 f., 265 f.; Hall, *Ancient History of the Near East*, pp. 363 ff.; Breasted, *History of the Ancient Egyptians*, pp. 311 f.; Garstang, *The Land of the Hittites*, pp. 347 ff.

[2] Stele of Merneptah, cf. Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte zum Alten Testament*, pp. 21-5.

[3] The early connexion of Israel with a Moon-cult is curious. Ur and Harran were both centres of this worship, and the name Sinai strongly suggests another locality consecrated to the same deity.

of Egypt itself. Whether their settlement there was in any way connected with the Hyksos conquests is a matter of dispute,[1] but it is at least clear that they cherished to the last a tradition of servitude in Egypt, and of a semi-miraculous escape from the country. It seems also certain that the first step towards the amalgamation of these tribes into a political unit was taken by Moses, and that, like Muhammad after him, he used as his principal unifying influence the power of a new religion.

We know but little of the history of Palestine after the invasion of Merneptah. His successors made occasional raids on the country. Ramses III had to fight on Syrian soil, though the actual locality is disputed,[2] and carried his arms to the north. The plain of Esdraelon remained in his hands, and he held throughout his reign a fortified post at Beth-Shean.

At the same time the object of the Egyptian court seems to have been primarily the maintenance of a route to the north, especially to the rich timber forests of the Lebanon, for, long after Palestine had been lost to Egypt, an attempt was made to tap the resources of the Lebanon by treaty with Byblos.[3] The central range was left alone, and there is no longer any mention of places like Jerusalem, which take so large a place in the records of the Tell-el-Amarna

[1] Cf. Hall, *Ancient History of the Near East*, pp. 407 ff.; *CAH*, i, p. 311.

[2] e.g. Breasted places it 'probably in one of the northern harbours on the coast of Phoenicia', *History of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 335; *CAH*, ii, p. 174. On the other hand, Hall says it is improbable 'that the land battle took place any farther north than the southern Shephelah', *Ancient History of the Near East*, p. 382, and J. W. Jack places it 'on the north-eastern frontier of his kingdom', *The Date of the Exodus*, p. 67. The importance of the exact locality lies in the help it gives us when we try to determine the extent of Egyptian control over Palestine in the twelfth century. The balance of probability seems to lie on the side of a southern rather than a northern site for the battle, which may actually have taken place not far from the mouth of the Wadi el-Arish.

[3] Cf. the report of Wen-Amon, in the reign of Ramses XII, see Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte zum Alten Testament*, pp. 71 ff.; Burney, *Judges*, pp. xcvi ff., &c.

period. It is to this comparative absence of control that Israel owed the opportunity to develop. The date of their entry into Palestine is disputed, but no one doubts that they had made good their footing before the end of the nineteenth dynasty. It seems that, like other desert tribes, they came in successive waves, and established themselves in three main districts, in the southern hills round Hebron, in the central range with important settlements in the neighbourhood of Bethel and of the Ephraimite mountain lands, and in the far north about the modern lake of Huleh. At the same time their traditions of a common ancestry and their adherence to a common religion gave them a strong sense of unity with tribes who maintained the shepherd life to the east of the Jordan valley. For generations the western settlements seem to have been confined to the wilder hill country, and two belts of hostile fortresses, one in the Jerusalem district and one in the plain of Esdraelon, cut off the main bodies from one another.[1] The evidence of archaeology suggests that the northern belt, if not the southern, consisted of places which still owed a nominal allegiance to Egypt, and it has even been suggested that Sisera, whose defeat is celebrated in the famous Song of Deborah, was an Egyptian dynast.[2] The evidence for this view, however, is not sufficient to be decisive.

But whatever may have been the political position of Sisera, his story illustrates the characteristic features of the so-called period of the Judges. We feel keenly the contrast between the half-civilized Israelites, with their elementary conceptions of war and their primitive armament, and the stronger and far more highly cultured enemy, who had attained to the greatest heights then possible in military science—there is a sense of awe about the mention of 'chariots of iron'.[3] The success of the younger people is

[1] The traditions of Saul's dealings with David, however, suggest that the southern barrier was not absolute.

[2] Cf. Jack, *The Date of the Exodus*, pp. 83 f.

[3] Cf. e.g. Judges iv. 3.

due partly to the sudden appearance of an unexpected storm, and partly to the sense of a common religion possessed by all the Israelite tribes. The settlements both to the south and to the north combined in the name of Yahweh against the enemy who lay between, and bitter complaints are made of others who should have been with them, but preferred an isolated security to the dangers of war.[1] We shall find reason to notice this feature of the history of the period again.

Other narratives of this time suggest that the advance of Israel was due to peaceful penetration and to assimilation, even more than to violent conquest. It was clearly only gradually that Israel took to agriculture, and such passages as Gen. xxxviii lead us to conjecture that there was a considerable admixture of blood with the older inhabitants. Another of the more successful 'Israelites' of the age was Abimelech, who certainly was not of pure Hebrew descent.[2] His story illustrates further the tendency to the formation of more or less centralized governments; possibly others of the Judges, though their exploits and authority were strictly local, cherished ambitions of a wider sovereignty. It is worth observing that most of the enemies against whom Israel fought at this time were foreign invaders, dangerous not only to themselves but also to their predecessors in the land. They were thus fighting the battles of the whole country against general oppressors and raiders, and their prowess on these fields must have given them gradually a position of leadership. They might fall behind their neighbours in agriculture and other arts, but at least they came to provide the strongest element in the forces which made for common defence. This inevitably assured to them a certain superiority in the troubled days of the twentieth dynasty, when the control of Egypt was at its weakest, and it was, as a matter of fact, the stimulus of external invasion which led to the final unification of the land, and bound

[1] Cf. Judges v. 15*b*–17, possibly also 23.

[2] Cf. Judges viii. 31, ix. 2 f.

together both the Aramaean and the Canaanite elements into a single nation.

Archaeological discoveries made during the last generation have revealed to us a civilization far older than that of Greece in the eastern Mediterranean. Its three chief centres were Crete, the Greek mainland, and Asia Minor. From all three quarters there have come to us copious examples of the work and life of this cultural age, to which the name of Aegean has been given. We recognize to-day something of the debt which later Greece and even Egypt owed to these men whose very existence had been forgotten, and the knowledge gained by the archaeologist has been supplemented by extended discoveries in Egyptian history and literature.

We have reason to believe that this ancient civilization fell beneath the repeated attacks by northern barbarians, who proved to be the ancestors of the Greeks. The struggle seems to have been severe, and ended in the expulsion of the older peoples from their homes. The Aegean collapse therefore let loose on the southern and eastern coasts of the Mediterranean swarms of militant fugitives. For a time Egypt herself had to fight for her safety, for a double attack was made upon her, the Delta itself being assailed by sea, and a general migration of whole peoples down the coast of Syria threatening invasion by land. It was over these combined forces that the victory of Ramses III, to which allusion has already been made, was won, and even this achievement failed to prevent the later settlement of sporadic but harmless groups in the Delta, and the occupation of the greater part of the coastal plain of Palestine. Needless to say, the last remnants of the old Hittite empire disappeared beneath the flood.

Egypt, unable to prevent the invaders from making good their footing in the maritime districts of Palestine, was still less in a position to protect the interior, and the responsibility of defence fell entirely on the inhabitants of the land itself. We have an echo of the conflict in the stories of

Samson, and so powerful were the incomers, that the Danite community to which that hero belonged, was compelled to migrate to a safer home in the north.[1] The Philistines (to give them the name by which they are best known to us) pressed on through the more desirable parts of the country, made their way up the plain of Esdraelon, and reached the principal crossing of the Jordan at Beth-Shean, where they destroyed the last remnants of Egyptian power. From time to time expeditions may have been sent out from Egypt, but under the twentieth dynasty the country, as the interesting but pathetic record of Wen-Amon [2] shows, was rapidly falling into a political decay from which it never wholly recovered. There was no obvious reason why the Philistines should not occupy and govern the whole of Palestine. They had behind them a great civilization—one of the greatest of the ancient world. They were the survivors of terrible wars, in which the weaker elements must have been eliminated. They were people of high intelligence and of considerable vigour, and while their political organization allowed their cities to remain under independent governments, they formed a confederacy which gave them a certain unity in action. In addition to their original advantages they had succeeded in occupying those parts of the country which were strategically most important, and there is reason to suspect not only that they cut the country in two towards the north, but also that their influence was felt even in Jerusalem. Against them the isolated and effete principalities of Palestine could hardly have made serious resistance, and the establishment of a great Philistine empire, moving north and south from a Palestinian base against the failing powers of the old world, was well within the bounds of possibility.

Yet the Philistines left no more than their name on the greater part of the country, and whilst it was clear that the older inhabitants could have offered slight opposition to

[1] Judges xiii–xvi, xviii. 11 ff.

[2] See above, p. 19, note 3.

them, it is equally clear that it was not Egypt which prevented the rise of a new Minos on her northern border. The failure of the latest invaders to hold permanently more than a strip of territory in the maritime plain was due to the rise of Israel as a nation. As we have already seen, they possessed certain qualities which their predecessors lacked. Their primitive vigour had not been impaired by centuries of enervating luxury. Whilst they had at first no more of a centralized organization than the peoples who were there before them, they found in their religion a vital unifying force. The local Baʿals, the fertility spirits of the agricultural communities, may have encouraged a kind of village patriotism, but their influence on the country as a whole tended to disintegrate, not to combine, different towns and districts. The Aramaean invader, on the other hand, with his concentration on a single God, and his sense that this God could and would call all his people to war and to victory, was ready for an organic political unity, which alone could offer a hope of contending with the Philistines.

Every student of the Book of Judges will have noticed that, while the narratives which deal with the exploits of the heroes are mainly ancient, the writer or compiler of the book itself has set them in a framework of his own. There is a theory of history which may be expressed in such a formula as, 'And the children of Israel did that which was evil in the sight of Yahweh, and served Baʿals. And the anger of Yahweh was kindled against them, and he sold them into the hands of A, and A oppressed them *x* years. And they cried unto Yahweh, and he raised up for them a deliverer, B. (Then follow the exploits of B, apparently taken from much older sources.) And B judged Israel *y* years. And the land had rest all the days of B. And it came to pass after the death of B, that the children of Israel forgot Yahweh their God, and . . .' And so the whole cycle is renewed. Whilst we should not regard this formula as being an accurate record, in so far as it assumes common action on the part of Israel and a regular succession of Judges who

ruled the whole people, we are compelled to agree that it expresses a thoroughly sound philosophy of history. As long as the Israelites were divided, they were an easy prey to any foe; united, they proved more than a match for their enemies. As often as they adopted the cult of the local Baʿals, they fell apart; they recovered that unity which was essential to their success, and, indeed, to their survival, only when they returned to that one God whom they all professed to revere. It is thus difficult to exaggerate the importance of the religious element in Israel at this juncture. It was that which not only made her a nation but also assured to her, in spite of her small numbers, the dominant power in Palestine, and thus created, for the only time in history, a genuine Palestinian state. Further, this task was accomplished at a crisis in general history, for, if the Aegean civilization was killed by the invading Greeks, it was Israel that prevented its resurrection in the only quarter where it seemed possible that an opportunity for new life might be offered to it.

The struggle between the older inhabitants, led by Israel, and the new invaders was a long one, and at least three generations passed before they were able to settle down side by side, with more or less clearly defined marches. Driven by the pressure to organize a monarchy, Israel, under Saul, attained a measure of success, but in the end the heroic prophet-king lost his crown and his life on the field of Gilboa, and the Philistine triumph was for the moment complete. Not only had their forces established themselves in the heart of the country, but the defenders themselves were divided into two camps, the one supporting the house of Saul, whose main strength now lay to the east of the Jordan, and the other maintaining the claims of David.

It is with this remarkable person that the true history of the Israelite state begins; for, though Saul achieved much, and the foundations laid by him were destined to endure, his death, for the moment at least, threw Palestine back

into its old condition. David belonged to Judah, a section of Israel which had hitherto played but little part in the national life, and may not have been recognized as a full member of the Israelite community.[1] David himself possibly had connexions with the Philistines,[2] and it may be that the narrative of his early exploits conceals the history of a division within that people, whose weaker party made common cause with Israel. Certainly, to the end of his life, David retained the affection and the loyal service of men of Philistine birth.[3]

With a personal charm and a military ability at least equal to those of his predecessor, David combined a statesmanship unique in the history of Palestine. Realizing the weakness that had led to the downfall of Saul—a weakness for which the younger man was himself in part responsible—David set himself first to the unification of Palestine. His aim was accomplished partly by his success over the house of Saul, and partly by his conquest of Jerusalem. This fortress was the last stronghold of that element in the Canaanite population which was still hostile to Israel, and was probably committed to the Philistine cause. Its possession removed the only remaining geographical obstacle to unification, for unrestricted communication was now possible between north and south.[4] Moreover, the genius of David

[1] It is not a little remarkable that the only portion of the Book of Judges in which Judah seems concerned is the story of the capture of Hebron and Kiriath Sepher, Judges i. 10–15, and the great heroes are Caleb and Othniel—Kenites rather than Israelites. There is no mention of Judah in the Song of Deborah; the tribe is not even blamed for failing to send a contingent to the united army. And the story of Gen. xxxviii strongly suggests that Judah occupied a permanent position in the south, which left the tribe independent of the general migrations of Israel.

[2] Cf. *CAH*, ii, pp. 392 ff.

[3] Cf. the behaviour of the Philistines of the court in the rebellion of Absolom, 2 Sam. xv. 17–22.

[4] On the other hand, the stories of David's earlier life, probably based on contemporary, or nearly contemporary, records, suggest a certain freedom of movement between Benjamin and Judah.

saw in it a fit place for his new capital. It belonged to neither of the two main sections of Israel, and was a tangible symbol of his own leadership and prowess. With this as his base he was able to take up the work in which Saul had failed, and, perhaps because he had Philistine connexions, he was able to consolidate his kingdom and establish secure frontiers in every direction. In particular, though he did not subdue the Philistines and incorporate them into his dominions—he does not seem to have made the attempt—he compelled them to limit their authority to the maritime plain, beyond which they never again pressed farther into the land.

As far as we know, David had to fight his battle against the Philistines single-handed. Certainly he had no help from Egypt, nor was he troubled by interference from that country. The twenty-first dynasty was one of the weakest that had ever occupied the throne, and the land was divided in allegiance between one line of kings ruling in the Delta, and another whose centre of authority was in the old ecclesiastical city of Thebes. It is a striking fact that we hear nothing of Egypt during the reigns of Saul and David, and it is certain that, though there may have been Egyptian raids on the maritime plain, there was no serious attempt to impose Egyptian dominion on Palestine, whether on the Philistines or on the rising Israel. There seems to have been a recrudescence of vigour under Siamon, one of the last kings of the dynasty, and it was probably he who sought the alliance of Israel, and gave Solomon his daughter.[1] It is not difficult to suppose that at the same time the old Egyptian sovereignty over Philistia was reasserted, for when the Pharaoh sacked Gezer and handed over its site to Solomon, his excuse was that it had 'revolted' from him. Solomon found the gift of great value, and evidently felt the need of some outpost against the Philistines, for he took care

[1] Cf. Hall, *Ancient History of the Near East*, p. 437; *CAH*, iii, p. 257. Breasted, on the other hand, believes that Solomon's father-in-law was Sheshonk, cf. *History of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 362.

to fortify it, and it is mentioned with Hazor and Megiddo among his more important building works.[1]

Solomon's alliance with Egypt is sometimes interpreted as implying subordination, yet he was left in practical freedom, and Egypt was not the only direction in which he looked. His relations with Tyre are familiar to all readers of the Bible, and obviously the influence of Phoenician culture was very great. The result of this varied outlook was that Palestine became one of the great markets of the world, and Solomon's magnificence was due, not only to the oppressive tribute which he exacted from his own subjects, but also to extensive foreign trade. There is no reason to doubt the general accuracy of the Biblical statements [2] which tell of commerce with Egypt and other lands, and since Palestine was not a manufacturing country, it is clear that the goods with which Solomon paid for his horses and other Egyptian products, came from the north. It was probably to a skilful use of the opportunities presented by his central position that he owed his material prosperity and success.

As we have seen, the Pharaoh who allied himself with Solomon is best identified with Siamon, or another of the last kings of the twenty-first dynasty. A further illustration of the friendship of Egypt may be seen in the treatment of Hadad the Edomite, who had fled there for refuge in the days of David. While the fugitive was kindly treated, a definite attempt was made to prevent him from returning to his own country, where he might have headed a revolt against Solomon.[3] But a change came with the accession of Sheshonk, the first king of the twenty-second dynasty, who saw good reason for reversing the policy, and thought of a strong and independent Israel not so much as a barrier against the northern and eastern empires but as a threat to himself. Complete subjugation was impossible while the land was ruled by a vigorous centralized government, such as that of David and his son, and, unless he was strong

[1] 1 Kings ix. 15.

[2] Cf. e.g. 1 Kings x. 28 f.

[3] Cf. 1 Kings xi. 22.

enough to follow the example of Thutmose III and undertake an annual campaign of conquest, his best plan was to undermine the power of the royal house. When, therefore, Jeroboam fled to Egypt to escape the jealousy of Solomon, Sheshonk, who is named in this narrative[1] (the king who protected Hadad is not identified), realized that opportunities for intrigue in days to come lay to his hand, and protected him till the time came when he could be useful. There is no reason to doubt the accuracy of the narrative which attributes the division of the kingdom to Rehoboam's refusal to grant lighter terms to his subjects than Solomon had done;[2] it is in accord with all that we know of the Hebrew monarchy. But, at the same time, it is clear that domestic trouble in Israel offered an excellent opportunity for the interference of the Egyptian court, and it comes as no surprise to find Sheshonk invading Palestine.

Of this expedition we have accounts from both sides. There is an inscription at Karnak,[3] unfortunately incomplete, in which Sheshonk enumerates the cities taken and spoiled, and also a short notice in 1 Kings xiv. 25–8. The latter account deals simply with Jerusalem, and probably comes from ancient temple records. From it we learn that much of the treasure stored there by David and Solomon was taken away, and we may guess that it was presented to the temple of Amon at Thebes. The Chronicler[4] ascribes the invasion to the anger of Yahweh, and adds certain details, including the statement that the fortified cities of Judah were captured. In neither passage is a political reason advanced for the invasion. Just as little is said about the motives of Sheshonk in the Karnak inscription. Possibly we may find a clue in the list of captured cities, which contains about 150 names. These indicate not only places like Gibeon and Beth-Horon, which were within Reho-

[1] 1 Kings xi. 40. [2] 1 Kings xii. 1–24.

[3] Cf. Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. 252–53*a*; Hall, *CAH*, iii, pp. 258 f.; *Ancient History of the Near East*, pp. 438 f.; Breasted, *A History of the Ancient Egyptians*, pp. 362 f. [4] 2 Chron. xii.

boam's dominions, but also the principal cities of the plain of Esdraelon. This may be due simply to the bombastic style of the court records, whose authors wished to reproduce the conquests of Thutmose III, at least on paper. But if that be the reason for mentioning these places, we may ask why the record went no farther. The fact that the north-eastern conquests of Thutmose are not mentioned leads us to find here a clue to the actual history of the events. We are told in 1 Kings xiv. 30 that Rehoboam was at war with Israel all his days, and it is quite possible that at one point he achieved some success. The invasion of Sheshonk is placed in the fifth, not the first year of Rehoboam's reign,[1] and it may well be that the Pharaoh held his hand till his protégé was in serious danger. If Rehoboam ever did recover a part of the plain of Esdraelon, it is clear that he must also have held the northern part of the central mountain range, including Shechem, Jeroboam's capital. In that case the Egyptian expedition will have been aimed at the restoration of the territories of Jeroboam, and a limitation of his southern rival's power. Further evidence, tending to suggest that Sheshonk's aim was the weakening, not the destruction, of Judah, may be found in the absence of Jerusalem from the Egyptian list of captured cities. We might suspect that this omission was due to the incompleteness of the inscription, but the account in 1 Kings xiv does not state explicitly that the city was taken, and the Hebrew historians, unlike those of other eastern nations, are usually very frank about their defeats. It is true that the Chronicler adds this detail, but his aim was to show how severely the sins of Judah were punished, and we may disregard his evidence on this point. Probably Sheshonk, like Sennacherib two centuries later, found the city nearly impregnable, and was content with exacting tribute and accepting the formal submission of Rehoboam.

Whatever its causes may have been, the invasion of Sheshonk was the last attempt to re-establish the ancient Egyp-

[1] 1 Kings xiv. 25.

tian empire in Palestine, and marks the end of that period in the history of the country which had begun with Thutmose III. An invasion of Cushites is mentioned by the Chronicler [1] as having taken place in the reign of Asa, and may have been a result of that king's religious policy. Too much stress, however, must not be laid upon this narrative. Apart from the comparative unreliability of statements in Chronicles which are unsupported by the testimony of the Book of Kings, it is by no means certain that the Cushites were the Egyptian armies, or that their king Zerah is to be identified with Osorkon I,[2] the son and successor of Sheshonk. But even if the event described be actual history, it serves to mark only the more definitely the extinction of Egyptian suzerainty over Palestine, inasmuch as it ended in the complete defeat of the invaders.

C. *The Period of Assyrian Dominance*

After the disappearance of the Egyptian power, the interest in Palestine passes to internal affairs. It is no part of our present purpose to trace the course of relations between Israel, Judah, and their immediate neighbours. We receive the impression of continuous wars, in which Syrians, Ammonites, Moabites, and others play a part, just as Israel and Judah do. On the whole the most powerful city is Damascus, but the very pressure which she exercised on Israel tended to make the latter strong and self-reliant. The border struggles were doubtless cruel and ruinous, but they served to keep the people warlike, and one effect is seen in the subjugation of Moab by Omri. But there is no trace of dealings with the larger empires, and even the great march of Ashur-naṣir-pal II [3] to the western sea-coast left Palestine untouched. On the other side Egypt had fallen on evil

[1] 2 Chron. xiv. 8–12.

[2] This identification was first made by Champollion; cf. Hall, *Ancient History of the Near East*, p. 439; *CAH*, iii, pp. 261, 360.

[3] This took place in 876 B.C.; cf. *CAH*, iii, pp. 15 f.; Hall, *Ancient History of the Near East*, p. 447.

days, and did not recover from her confusion and political chaos till the establishment of the twenty-fifth, or Ethiopian, dynasty late in the eighth century.

But though Ashur-naṣir-pal made no attack on Palestine, his great expedition begins a new period in history. From now onwards the Mesopotamian powers seem to have aimed definitely at permanent conquests, always having before them the ultimate prospect of adding Egypt to their dominions, and thus bringing under their sway the whole of the known world. It was inevitable that such a policy should vitally affect the position of Palestine. As the country had been from time immemorial the channel of commercial intercourse between Asia and Africa, it had now again, as in the days of the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty, to witness the march of great armies, and occupied the important but profoundly dangerous position of a buffer state. But the process was slow, and though two of the later kings of Assyria successfully invaded Egypt, it was not till Nineveh herself had given place to Babylon, and Babylon in turn to Persia, that a real subjection was reached.

The first recorded attempt at definite conquest in Palestine was the invasion of Shalmaneser III in 853 B.C.[1] It had the unexpected effect of uniting all forces in the country. So great and so terrible was the danger that for the moment all local jealousies and tribal animosities were laid aside, and twelve 'kings' joined forces under the general leadership of Benhadad of Damascus. The largest contingent was that of Benhadad himself; second (first in chariotry) came that of Ahab, which probably includes the levies of Judah, at this time, apparently, subordinate to Israel. Shalmaneser claims a great victory, and says that he slew many thousands of the enemy at Ḳarḳar, but he pressed the invasion no farther, and it is clear that he sustained a definite repulse. It is possible that Egyptian troops fought on the side of the allies, and in any case it is obvious that Egypt

[1] Cf. Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte zum Alten Testament*, pp. 340 ff.; *CAH*, iii, pp. 21 f.; Hall, *Ancient History of the Near East*, p. 449.

was as much concerned in the issue of the battle as Palestine itself.

This, however, was the last time that the Assyrians were met by a united defence. Twelve years later there occurred a revolution in northern Israel which set Jehu on the throne. Religion and politics went hand in hand in the ancient East, and the movement was the result of a general protest against Phoenician influence in Church and State. Ahab had been allied by marriage to the royal house of Sidon, and with the foreign queen had come into Israel a whole cycle of ideas in government and worship which were repugnant to the sturdy, conservative mind of the Israelite peasant farmer and of the Israelite prophet. But Jehu's action was certain to be resented not only in Phoenicia but also in some quarters in his own land, and to secure his throne he appealed to Assyria for help, accepting the suzerainty of Shalmaneser. It was no longer possible to restore the old coalition, and Damascus, fighting single-handed, was crushed at Mt. Hermon, though the city itself escaped on payment of tribute.[1]

For nearly a century the advance was pushed no farther, for Assyria, under weaker kings than Shalmaneser III, had to fight for dominion, almost for existence, against powerful enemies nearer home, particularly Urartu and Babylon, and in the reign of Ashur-nirari V (754–746) was reduced to extremities. But in Israel and to a lesser extent in Judah, there took place in this period a far-reaching economic and social change. In the ninth century Palestine had been a country of small independent farmers, each working his own land, and nurtured on the traditions of social equality which Israel received with the Aramaean element in her population. Whatever may be the weaknesses of such people, they are vigorous and determined enough in de-

[1] Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte zum Alten Testament*, p. 343; *CAH*, iii, pp. 23 f., 363; Hall, *Ancient History of the Near East*, pp. 453 f. The famous Black Obelisk, which records and depicts the tribute of Jehu, is now in the British Museum.

fence of their homes against a foreign invader. Such were the men of Marathon; such were the soldiers of the great military days of the Roman republic; such had been the men who fought at Ḳarḳar. But by the middle of the eighth century the whole economic basis of Israelite society had changed, and the country was now divided into large estates, whose owners had little to do with the land, but lived luxurious lives in the great cities.[1] The actual culture of the soil was carried out either by slaves or by tenant farmers, who paid so heavy a rent as to be hardly above serfdom.[2] We have good reason for conjecturing that the wealthy classes had followed the precedent set by Jezebel in the case of Naboth,[3] but, whatever the method was, the result could only be disaster. To a social order of this kind, as men like Amos saw, only two possibilities are open. The lower classes may preserve some element of the human spirit, which, fermenting in repression, will later rise in an internal explosion such as that which wrecked French society in the eighteenth century and Russian in more recent times. The other alternative is a national emasculation, which leaves the country an easy prey to the first strong invader who attacks her. It was the latter fate that befell Israel, and never again was she in a position to reproduce the national energy which had helped to block the path of Assyrian aggression in 853.[4]

[1] Cf. e.g. Amos vi. 1–6, Isa. v. 8–10, Micah ii. 2, &c. It is interesting to compare Mommsen's account of the similar change which took place in Roman society between 250 and 150 B.C., and to note that similar dangers were incurred, though the downfall of the Roman republic was much slower than that of Israel.

[2] Cf. e.g. Amos v. 11, Micah iii. 3.

[3] Cf. the constant prophetic denunciations of corruption and injustice in the administration of law, and such phrases as 'sold the poor for a pair of shoes', Amos ii. 6, viii. 6.

[4] It is, of course, true that within a dozen years of the battle of Ḳarḳar Shalmaneser had made himself master at least of northern Palestine. The failure of the western states to reproduce their success was due to the disintegration of the old alliance, and, as pointed out

What was true of Israel was probably true of other states in and around Palestine, and, in comparison with its neighbours, the northern Hebrew kingdom showed no diminution of strength. On the contrary, during the first half of the eighth century Jeroboam II succeeded in recovering much of the ground that had been lost to the east of Jordan, and the historian claims for him a wider realm than any Israelite king had ruled since the days of Solomon.[1] But the inherent weakness of Israel became apparent when the failing Assyrian empire was rescued through the genius and personal force of a usurper who seized the throne on the death of Ashur-nirari. This was the famous Tiglath-pileser III, whose measures were so swift and so effective that by 743 he had reduced the nearer rebels, and was free to undertake a campaign in the west.[2] His first efforts were directed against northern Syria, but in 738 Menahem usurped the throne of Samaria, and, to secure himself, offered tribute (voluntarily, as it seems) to the invader, and so gave him a useful excuse for interfering in the affairs of Palestine. His opportunity came four years later. Egypt, powerless to protect herself by force, tried to postpone the inevitable advance of the Assyrians by intrigue, and secured a party in some, possibly all, of the courts of Palestine. In the interests of this section, Pekahiah, Menahem's son, was dethroned and Pekah put in his place. In Damascus the

above, Damascus had to fight alone. But Tiglath-pileser III in 735 was faced by a coalition, whose leading members were Damascus and Samaria, and seems to have had little difficulty in crushing his opponents.

[1] 2 Kings xiv. 25. Amos vi. 13 also probably refers to the capture by Israel of Lo-debar and Ashtoreth-karnaim, two cities to the east of Jordan which had long been subject to Damascus.

[2] For the reign of Tiglath-pileser see especially *CAH*, iii, pp. 32 ff.; Hall, *Ancient History of the Near East*, pp. 461 ff.; Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte zum Alten Testament*, pp. 345-8. Dr. Hall is almost alone in believing that the Azrijau of Ja'udi, whom Tiglath-pileser overthrew in 738, is to be identified with Azariah of Judah. He is usually held to be king of a state in north-west Syria, near the Amanus.

anti-Assyrian party found a leader in Rezon, and the two new kings tried to reorganize the old league of the ninth century. They were resisted by Ahaz of Judah, and attempted to force his people into the alliance. Ahaz appealed to Tiglath-pileser, who marched westwards in 734. His first movements were directed against the Philistine cities, and the reduction of Gaza helped to isolate the northern allies. Pekah fled, and was replaced with Hoshea, but Damascus resisted stubbornly, and fell only in 732. Tiglath-pileser was undisputed lord of all Palestine, and his authority remained unchallenged till his death in 727.

Meanwhile, a change had taken place in Egypt. The confusion and weakness which had been characteristic of the period of the twenty-first and twenty-second dynasties was, for a time, brought to an end by the rise of Piankhi the Ethiopian, who succeeded in combining the whole country under his sway,[1] and once more Egypt becomes a serious factor in the situation, though, as before, she preferred to work by intrigue rather than by force of arms. Her opportunity came with the death of Tiglath-pileser, and she did her best to make use of it. One of the weaknesses of the Assyrian government was that its empire was always bound up with the personal authority of the reigning king, and every sovereign had to face the possibility of a fresh conquest, at least of the outlying districts, on his accession. So Shalmaneser V found it, and his difficulties in the west were enhanced by Egyptian influence. The Biblical record speaks of a certain 'So' (Sewe?) with whom Hoshea plotted against his overlord. This may possibly be Shabaka; the date is somewhat early, and if the identification is to be accepted, he was probably the commander of one of Piankhi's armies. More probably, however, he was still a local chief, perhaps the Sib'e mentioned by Sargon,[2] or some other of the Delta princelets, concerning whom we

[1] Cf. *CAH*, iii, pp. 270 ff. (Hall); Hall, *Ancient History of the Near East*, pp. 469 ff.; Breasted, *History of the Ancient Egyptians*, pp. 368 ff.

[2] Cf. Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte zum Alten Testament*, p. 349.

have no further information. The exact identification, however, is not matter of great moment; whoever he was, he fairly represents the attitude of Egypt. Shalmaneser found it possible to invade Palestine in 724, took Hoshea prisoner, and laid siege to Samaria. The city held out till after his death in 722, but surrendered to his successor, Sargon. Even so, resistance was not at an end, and two years later Palestine was again invaded by the Assyrians, who marched through Samaria and down the coast, where they met and defeated a certain Sib'e, who may have been Hoshea's ally.[1]

We have no direct evidence as to the political condition of the northern kingdom after 722, except such as may be gathered from Sargon's statement that he set 'officers' over the country.[2] In the south Ahaz remained a loyal Assyrian vassal, and seems to have offered evidence of his fidelity by the introduction of some foreign element in the Jerusalem cultus. His son, Hezekiah, apparently followed in his steps, at any rate during the reign of Sargon, and Palestine became an Assyrian outpost on the borders of Egypt. From what we know of the methods of the Assyrian kings, we may conjecture that the royal house of Judah was rewarded for its faithfulness with the receipt of some authority over the northern kingdom, or at least over its southern portions.[3] Judah does not seem to have been seriously compromised in the movement which resulted in the sack of Ashdod in 711, but the loyalty of the subject states was due to fear of Sargon, and, when he died, the whole empire was once more in a blaze of revolt. Sennacherib, Sargon's successor,

[1] Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte zum Alten Testament*, p. 349; Hall, *Ancient History of the Near East*, p. 473; *CAH*, iii, p. 57.

[2] Gressmann, *loc. cit.*

[3] The statement made by Sennacherib, that in 701 he captured forty-six fortified cities belonging to Hezekiah, suggests that the latter controlled territory a good deal larger than Judah proper, and the fact, attested by the same inscription, that Padi was given parts of the land formerly governed by the rebellious princes, illustrates the Assyrian method of rewarding fidelity.

was far away, Egypt was very near, and Hezekiah joined in the general rebellion of the Palestinian states.

The story is too well known to need elaboration in detail. The imprisonment of Padi in Jerusalem, the advance of Sennacherib, the desolation of the Israelite cities, the reduction and punishment of the Philistine rebels, the vain attempt of the Egyptian army to save the situation and its crushing defeat at Eltekeh, the siege of Jerusalem and the submission of Hezekiah—these events are as familiar to us as any in modern history. Jerusalem was not captured, it is true, but Judah and all Palestine were thoroughly subdued. Even if Sennacherib suffered the disaster generally connected with this invasion, his work was done, and there were no more revolts in this district as long as Assyria remained an imperial power.

Here, then, we have Assyria and Egypt face to face at last. The border country has been definitely occupied by the eastern power, her influence is dominant, and the kings and princes rule at her will. If and when she decides to add the valley of the Nile to her conquests, she has a base in Palestine, and can rely on the friendly neutrality, if no more, of the lands which immediately bordered on her great enemy. Tyre alone ventured to resist Esarhaddon, and on his great expedition against Egypt in 671[1] he easily masked the fortress, though he was unable to take it. For the rest it is a striking fact that we hear no more of Assyrian armies in the story of Israel. Expeditions by Esarhaddon and by Ashur-bani-pal passed along the roads that led to Egypt, and it is hardly possible that they kept out of Judahite territory, but they came as allies and protectors, not as enemies. Even the active and feverish intrigues of the Egyptian princes could not rouse the Palestinian states to revolt.

[1] *CAH*, iii, pp. 84 ff.; Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte zum Alten Testament*, p. 358; Hall, *Ancient History of the Near East*, p. 498; Breasted, *History of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 379. The submission of Manasseh is directly attested by Esarhaddon's inscription, cf. Gressmann, *op. cit.*, p. 357.

This state of peaceful submission lasted for three-quarters of a century, but the death of Ashur-bani-pal in 626 was the signal for the collapse of the empire. Babylon finally asserted her autonomy, Media threw off all control, and, of the western dominions, Egypt alone maintained her alliance. Doubtless the fall of Assyria was hastened by the inroad of the mixed hordes from the north, to whom Greek writers gave the name Scythians or Cimmerians, known in Mesopotamia as Umman-manda. The dwellers in the barbarian north and north-east were a standing danger to the more civilized races of the Mediterranean region throughout the whole of that period of history which we call ancient. Thence had the Medes, the Persians, even the Greeks themselves, broken into the midst of the higher culture of the south, and it had been centuries before the new conquerors of these lands had risen to the height of their predecessors or new neighbours. Six hundred years later it was only the insight and genius of Julius Caesar which checked a fresh movement of the same kind, and it was an influx of the northern tribes which brought the Roman Empire to an end. The first requirement of civilization in the ancient world was a strong frontier to the north, and the failure of the Assyrians, due, perhaps, to unwise extension southwards, to maintain their hold firmly on Urartu and the Vannic region, left the door open on the north. The movement of the latter part of the seventh century was not one of the greatest of northern invasions, and developed into little more than a series of plundering raids on a large scale, but it was enough to sweep away in its first rush the last remnants of the Assyrian power. At present we have no information as to the last thirteen years of Ashur-bani-pal, beyond the fact that he died in 626, and we are left free to conjecture that he was then fighting a losing battle on his northern frontier. His successors were nonentities, as far as we can judge, and they were certainly not in a position to make any effective attempt to recover the rebel provinces of the west.

Judah was visited by Scythian hordes in 626, and though

they failed to take Jerusalem, they spread desolation over the whole country.[1] The storm passed quickly, and the independence of Judah was signalized by a great religious reform in 621,[2] and Palestine became once more an independent kingdom lying between two rival powers. As before, Egypt threatened its autonomy from the south, but the Mesopotamian power was now no longer Assyria, but Babylon. That city, under the Chaldean prince Nebopolassar, had now entered on her short but brilliant second period of empire, and in her attacks on Nineveh had the support of the Medes. Though the Assyrians, with the help of an Egyptian force, succeeded in checking the allies in 616, they renewed their assaults. Ashur was stormed by the Medes in 614, and two years later Nineveh herself fell before the allies, who now included a force of Scythians, originally hired to defend the city which they actually helped to sack. Judah herself played little or no part in these events; Necho seems to have been content to leave the hill state alone, and it was not till after the destruction of his northern ally that he felt the need of consolidating Palestine as a barrier against the advancing power of Babylon. It may, however, be worth noting that one of the most impressive passages in the world's literature is a short ode on the fall of Nineveh by a Palestinian poet.[3]

[1] To this time seem to belong the oracles ascribed to Zephaniah, and some, at least, of the material included in Jeremiah, chs. iv–vi, and possibly other passages. The panic which spread throughout the country-side is vividly described in Jer. iv. 5–8, the speed of the invaders in iv. 13–16—their cavalry advance as fast as the couriers who bring news of their approach—and the terror inspired by their appearance in vi. 22–6, while in vi. 1–8 we seem to have a reference to an attack on Jerusalem, in which we are transported into the very Scythian camp and hear their plans for assaulting the city. But it seems that the walls were too strong or too well defended, and they had to be content with plundering the country.

[2] For the political gesture implied in Josiah's religious movement, cf. Robinson, *The Decline and Fall of the Hebrew Kingdoms*, p. 22; A. C. Welch, *The Death of Josiah*, *ZAW*, 1925, pp. 255 ff.

[3] Nahum iii. 1 ff.

So ends the period that we have immediately under review. We have seen how Palestine was from the earliest times a bridge between the great civilizations of the ancient world, and how the land became a desirable, indeed a necessary, possession as soon as one or the other began to aim at universal empire. She was thus dominated in turn by the Egyptians, by the Hittites, and by the Assyrians, and might have become the seat of a Philistine empire but for the rise of Israel. Yet even that people failed to secure independence, except for short intervals during which both the great powers were distracted by internal troubles, and the last period of Egyptian dominion was very short. Within a few years Babylon succeeded to the inheritance of Nineveh,[1] and, with the collapse of Egyptian power in Palestine, ended even the semblance of Jewish independence.

Yet Israel—the one genuine Palestinian nation of ancient times—must receive the credit for one of the greatest contributions ever made to the political thought of man. She brought with her from the nomad stage a conception of common brotherhood which she was the first to apply to the conditions of a highly organized settled community. No doubt there are distinctions among the shepherd peoples, and amongst the Bedawin of to-day there are sheikhly families who claim a natural superiority to the rest. Yet this does not prohibit a strong sense of the value of human personality, and a stress on the rights of man as man. As we have seen, the Aramaean invaders of the early days contributed but a small proportion to the common stock of Palestine, yet their traditions, their religion, and their thought reigned supreme without a rival. To them the conception of the true equality of all the people of Yahweh was fundamental, and later history showed how impossible it was to uproot this political doctrine.

Like other eastern nations, Israel could not conceive of

[1] The decisive event is, of course, the defeat of Necho at Carchemish, 605.

any form of political organization in a settled land other than a monarchy, but in Israel monarchy was a unique phenomenon. Elsewhere the king was (and is) absolute; a 'limited monarchy' is, to the oriental, a contradiction in terms. The normal eastern king is a Sultan, a person vested with unchallenged authority. His commands must be obeyed without question or remonstrance; his will is the dominant factor in the state. All law is the expression of that will, and, while it binds every other member of the community, the monarch himself is free to disregard or to supersede it. He is its author, and it derives its validity from his position; he can, therefore, dispense with it, for it is below him. He owes no formal duties to his subjects, and is answerable to none for his actions. To the eastern mind the very word 'king' connotes an irresponsible despotism.

In practice there is sometimes found a certain limitation. The Babylonian king, who was compelled to 'take the hands of Bel' annually, recognized, at least formally, the authority of the god and (by implication) of his representatives. The power of the priests of Amon proved more than once to be the decisive factor in Egyptian internal politics. But in Israel the monarch recognized his responsibility not only to Yahweh but to the human community at whose head he stood. The later historian believed that at the very foundation of the kingdom Samuel prepared a written constitution, and deposited it among the sacred archives.[1] When the infant Joash is placed on the throne, an agreement is made on his behalf with Yahweh and the people by the priest Jehoiada.[2] What its terms were we can only conjecture, but it is clear that they involved a limitation of the king's rights over the persons and the property of his subjects. When Naboth refuses to grant to Ahab possession of his tiny vineyard, though generous terms are offered, the king sees no way whereby he may enforce his will. His foreign wife, brought up in the atmosphere of an ordinary court, is unable to comprehend her husband's

[1] 1 Sam. x. 25. [2] 2 Kings xi. 17.

difficulties; to her the matter is simple, for if the king wants the land he has only to take it. Yet even she so far respects the national scruples as to secure her aims through the forms of common law, though the action itself is so tyrannical that it would never have occurred to Ahab, who, to do him justice, seems to have been unaware of what was happening till Naboth was actually dead. It is striking testimony to the political theory of Israel and to the hold it had on men's minds, that even the son of Omri could be thwarted by the smallest of freemen in his realm,[1] and Elijah's condemnation is an expression not only of the divine will but also of the common feeling of Israel. Nowhere else could such conduct as David's treatment of Uriah have been met with a reproof like that of Nathan; normally the subject's life and property were at the absolute disposal of the sovereign, who could take either at his will. It is, of course, clear that a certain tribute was recognized; Amos speaks of 'the king's mowings'[2] without complaint, and the tribute paid to the northern king in wine or oil is attested by archaeological discovery. But the extent of this tribute, as well as of the unpaid services that the king could require of his people, was clearly limited by custom, and possibly also by agreement, while the people felt themselves free to impose fresh conditions on each new monarch at his accession. A refusal to modify the 'charters' in the popular favour cost Rehoboam the greater part of his kingdom,[3] and even the great prophets, who certainly never shrank from denouncing social iniquity wherever it was found, say little of royal malpractice in either realm. The great exception to this rule is Jehoiakim,[4] and the illustration is particularly instructive, because this king was imposed on Judah by a foreign conqueror, not elected by popular choice, and therefore may not have been compelled to submit to the usual agreement.

A constitutional principle so unique in the ancient East

[1] 1 Kings xxi.
[2] Amos vii. 1.
[3] 1 Kings xii. 1–19.
[4] Cf. Jer. xxii. 13–17.

must have rested on some deep-seated conviction of the national mind, a conviction which held its place down to the last days of the monarchy. We may find a clue to it in Jeremiah's condemnation of Jehoiakim:

> Woe to him!
> That buildeth his house with injustice,
> And his storied chambers with wrong;
> Enslaveth his fellow for nought,
> And recompense giveth him none.[1]

With this may be compared the injunction given by Deuteronomy, in speaking of the monarchy. The king is to keep a copy of the Law always beside him, and to make it his constant study not only that he may fear Yahweh but also that 'his heart may not be lifted up above his brethren'.[2] It is in these terms 'fellow' and 'brethren' that we find the true feeling of Israel. There must be a king, but he exists for the sake of his people. He has power and authority, but they are not given him for his own pleasure, but for the safety and well-being of the nation over whom he rules. He does not stand on a higher level than others, except in so far as his duties give him a loftier place. He is *primus inter pares*, and though he must of necessity have special authority, yet he belongs to the same order as his people; he is one of them. Except in her conception of religion Israel had no greater gift to offer the world than this, a truly democratic theory of the relation between the government and the governed. To understand the unique importance of Israel in history, it is necessary to remember not only her geographical position between the two great empires of the ancient world but also her gift to man's political thinking. For while to every other ancient monarch the subject was a slave, to the Israelite king he was a brother.

[1] Jer. xxii. 13. [2] Deut. xvii. 20.

PALESTINE IN GENERAL HISTORY

II

FROM THE FALL OF NINEVEH TO TITUS

By the Rev. J. W. HUNKIN, B.D., M.C., O.B.E.

II

FROM THE FALL OF NINEVEH TO TITUS

1. *Palestine under Babylon*

WHEN in July 612 B.C., after a three months' siege, Nineveh fell before a coalition of Scythians, Medes, and Babylonians. a great empire was set free from what had been from first to last a military tyranny. Babylonia was at least a milder power than the Assyrian, 'besieger of men'. The scenes depicted on the Assyrian monuments are generally scenes of violence and war. That of the siege of a city reproduced in A. H. Layard's *Monuments of Nineveh*, First Series, Plate 13, may be referred to as a characteristic example. The only official relief of a peaceful scene including the figure of a woman yet discovered among Assyrian remains is that of Ashur-bani-pal (669–626 B.C.) feasting with his queen:[1] whereas the representation of a woman spinning illustrated in the *Cambridge Ancient History*, Plate I, p. 72(b), is rather typical of Babylonian art.

This contrast is reflected in the Old Testament. The Book of Nahum is the only book in the Bible entirely filled with invective directed against a single nation.

> Woe to the bloody city! It is all full of lies and rapine; the prey departeth not.[2]

The prophet pictures the oncoming of the enemy when Nineveh itself is taken:

> The noise of the whip, and the noise of the rattling of wheels; and pransing horses, and jumping chariots;
> the horseman charging, and the flashing sword, and the glittering spear; and a multitude of slain, and a great heap of carcases:
> and there is none end of the corpses; they stumble upon their corpses.[2]

[1] Reproduced e.g. in the *Cambridge Ancient History*, Pl. i, p. 222(b).
[2] Nahum iii. 1–3.

With this language we may compare that of the Babylonian Chronicle describing the event:

> a great havoc of the people and the nobles took place . . . they carried off the booty of the city, a quantity beyond reckoning, they turned the city into ruined mounds.

In the struggle between Babylon and Nineveh the sympathies of the Jews must have been distinctly on the side of the Babylonians.

It was in collision with Pharaoh Necho of Egypt marching to the assistance of the Assyrians that Josiah met his death (2 Kings xxiii. 29); and after the signal defeat of Necho at Carchemish in 605 B.C. Palestine passed easily into the hands of Babylon.

Now, whereas there are passages in the Old Testament, e.g. Isa. xlvii. 1 ff., Jer. xxv. 12 ff., Ps. cxxxvii, which express hatred of Babylon as an oppressor, there are others which seem to show that some Jews, at all events, could entertain a feeling towards her very different from that of their fathers towards Assyria. Thus after the first carrying into captivity in 597 B.C. Jeremiah wrote to the exiles in Babylonia and said explicitly: 'Seek the peace of the city whither I have caused you to be carried away captive, and pray unto the Lord for it: for in the peace thereof shall ye have peace.' [1]

Plate I. 1 [2] shows the Lion of Babylon on a beautifully coloured glazed tile from a temple of Nin-makh (Ishtar). Dan. vii. 4 describes this lion with *eagle's wings* and how 'a man's heart was given to it', i.e. how it received captives from Judaea.

Some light is thrown upon the strange insertion in this chapter (Dan. vii) of the Bear of Media between the Lion of Babylon and the Leopard of Persia by the modern

[1] Jer. xxix. 7; cf. xxxix. 11 ff., and the reference to the kindly treatment of Jehoiachin by Evil-Merodach with which both 2 Kings and Jeremiah end (2 Kings xxv. 27 ff., Jer. lii. 31 ff.).

[2] C. Frank, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Kunst*, opp. p. 54.

view that Babylon was actually one of the client states of Media.[1]

However that may be, it was Babylonia that received the Jewish captives. In what numbers?

The figures given in Jer. lii. 28–30 are as follows:

in 597 B.C.	3,023
in 586 B.C.	832
After the murder of Gedaliah	745
	4,600 in all.

It has been suggested that these numbers refer to the heads of families; but even if we multiply by 10 we only reach the figure 46,000.

Thus it is very doubtful, as Professor Kennett has pointed out, whether Judaea was so depopulated, even after the war had done its worst, as the eastern counties of England were after the Black Death.

Circumstances now favoured a drawing together of the various sections of the people of Palestine. Places like Bethel were already in touch with Jerusalem,[2] and the contact grew closer.[3] Jeremiah refers sympathetically to Northern Israel,[4] and Ezekiel[5] looks forward to the reunion of Judah and Israel under one king. Groups from the south, for example, from the neighbourhood of Kadesh,[6] came to be enrolled as Judaeans. There is evidence that a nationalist feeling arose which was not restricted to Judah alone but inspired the whole country from Naphtali in the north to Hebron in the south.[7]

2. *Palestine under the Persians*

These processes of assimilation and slow recovery were not immediately affected by the capture of Babylon by Cyrus the Persian in October 539.

[1] D. G. Hogarth, *The Ancient East*, p. 125. [2] 2 Kings xxiii. 15 ff.
[3] Jer. li. 5 ff., cf. Zech. vii. [4] Jer. iii. 11, xxiii. 6.
[5] Ezek. xxxvii. 15 ff., cf. xxxix. 25. [6] 1 Chron. ii. and iv.
[7] See Deut. *passim* and especially Deut. xxvii. 9–26, 'a Samaritan liturgical office'.

The new king had no wish to interfere with the social and religious customs of the various parts of his empire, and the same may be said in general of his successors. Cyrus himself received at the hands of the Babylonian god Bel-Marduk consecration as king of Babylon, and restored to their proper cities the images of the gods which Nabonidus had transported to the capital. Under the Persians the Phoenicians continued to be governed by their own kings, the Egyptians had their own heads of nomes; and if the hopes raised among the Jews by the activity of their native prince Zerubbabel seem subsequently to have fizzled out, it was not the Great King who extinguished them.

But before considering what was done by Zerubbabel it will be well to glance at the extension of the new empire.[1] Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, assembled a great army at Gaza and, with the assistance of the Bedawin and their camels, crossed the desert to Egypt. In Egypt Cambyses adopted the royal costume of the Pharaohs and was instructed in the mysteries of Egyptian religion; although, later, according to Herodotus,[2] he behaved as a violent iconoclast. His great successor Darius I, who, after nineteen battles and seven years of conflict, succeeded finally in establishing the empire on a firm basis, was himself a Zoroastrian, but he was entirely conciliatory in his attitude towards other religions. The Zoroastrians themselves had no temples, but Plate I. 2 [3] shows one of the pylons in front of a temple founded, or possibly rebuilt, by Darius I in honour of the god Ammon-Ra at Hibis in Egypt.[4] This pylon with the ancient symbol of the winged solar disk upon it may serve as an illustration of the fact that Persian art does not in general show any great originality but consists chiefly in the reproduction of earlier models. In saying this, however, we are in danger of doing less than

[1] See C. Huart, *La Perse antique*, pp. 56 ff.

[2] Herodotus, iii. 27 ff.

[3] H. Brugsch, *Reise nach der grossen Oase El Khargeh* (1878), Pl. iv.

[4] About two miles north of the village of Kharga.

FIG. 1. The Lion of Babylon
From C. Frank, 'Babylonisch-Assyrische Kunst'

FIG. 2. Pylon in front of a Temple at Hibis in Egypt dedicated by Darius I to Ammon-Ra
From H. Brugsch, 'Reise nach der grossen Oase El Khargeh' (1878)

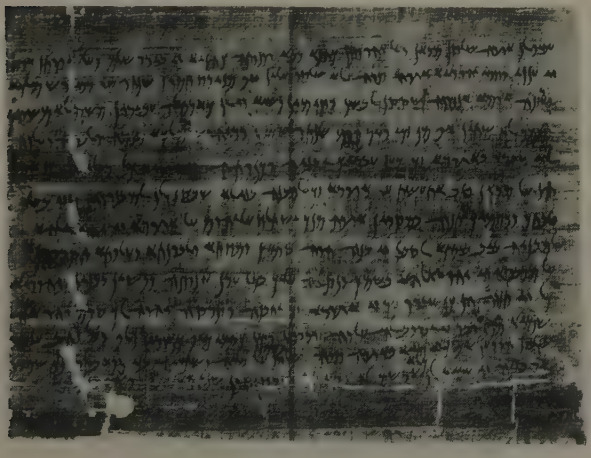


FIG. 3. End of an Aramaic letter (408 B.C.) from Elephantine containing the names of *Sanballat*, *Bagohi*, and *Johanan*
From E. Sachau, 'Aramäische Papyrus u. Ostraka'

justice to the Persians, for, as a study of F. Sarre's recent work, *Die Kunst des alten Persien*, clearly shows, the Persians developed a certain distinction of their own.

The Persian Empire was divided into twenty satrapies, of which the fifth, *Abar-Nahara* ('Beyond the River', i.e. the Euphrates), comprised Syria, Phoenicia, Palestine, and Cyprus. It was by no means one of the richest satrapies. The tribute from it, for example, was reckoned at 350 talents, whereas that from the sixth satrapy (Egypt, Libya, and Cyrenaica) amounted to 700 talents.[1]

A service of couriers along the great roads linked all the satrapies of the empire to Susa the capital. Susa, unlike Babylon, was an open town with a thick-walled citadel. Here each succeeding king built himself a new palace rather than occupy the palace of his predecessor. From Susa the Great King's writ ran to the Caspian in the north, to the Aegean in the west, in the east to the borders of India, and in the south at least as far as the First Cataract on the Nile.[2] The most famous of Persian inscriptions is that below the relief on the rock at Behistun. It was written in the Old Persian which the passer-by was not expected to be able to read, and Darius I had translations made and sent to the different satrapies. But while on the one hand the Persian kings looked upon their empire as one indivisible whole,[3] the central authority, as has already been indicated, showed no disposition to interfere with local government. In dealing with the inhabitants of the different satrapies it used the local languages.[4] Indeed so far as these inhabitants were concerned the Persian administration and the Persian army were mere superstructures. Interesting parallels to the state of things in Palestine

[1] Huart, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

[2] See the map in *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. iv, p. 195.

[3] With, for example, a uniform coinage, and linked by the great network of military roads already mentioned.

[4] e.g. in Lydia, Phrygia, Phoenicia, and Egypt. Rostovtsev, *The History of the Ancient World*, i. 153.

are found in a number of small Anatolian kingdoms, fragments of the Hittite Empire, where the traditional rule of the Chief Priests of the principal temples continued undisturbed.[1]

Modern research has discovered evidence of Jewish settlers in various parts of this vast empire. At Sardes [2] in Lydia a bilingual Lydian-Aramaic inscription has been found dating from the reign of Artaxerxes.[3] At Nippur, near the left bank of the Euphrates, south of Babylon, excavation has brought to light numerous contract tablets of the fifth century B.C. containing Hebrew(?) proper names.[4] At Elephantine, by the First Cataract in Upper Egypt, Jews appear on garrison duty before the invasion of Cambyses and into the third century B.C.[5]

In 520 the governor in Jerusalem was a native prince, a grandson of Jehoiachin, the Zerubbabel already mentioned,[6] and by his side was Joshua, the high-priest.[7] Urged on by the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, these two procured the rebuilding of the Temple on a smaller scale than formerly. Zerubbabel himself was hailed by Zechariah as the restorer of the Davidic monarchy, and was evidently expected to play the part of the dutiful and entirely pious prince of whom Ezekiel had dreamed.

[1] Rostovtsev, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

[2] The Sepharad of Obadiah 20.

[3] 'In the tenth year of Artaxerxes'—probably the second Artaxerxes and so 395 B.C. See Dr. S. A. Cook, *JHS*, 1917, p. 81.

[4] The tablets of the firm of Murashu Sons. See S. A. Cook's review of vols. xiv and xv of the Publications of the Babylonian Section of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, *PEFQS*, 1927 (Oct.), p. 219.

[5] The earliest of the Elephantine papyri seems to be dated 495 B.C., the latest about 300 B.C.; cf. Jer. xliv. 1 (Daphnae). Jeremiah also speaks of Jews at Migdol and Noph (Memphis).

[6] Not the Sheshbazzar of Ezra i. 8, who may possibly be the Shenazzar of 1 Chron. iii. 18, an uncle of Zerubbabel.

[7] Hag. i. 1, the first occurrence of this precise title in connexion with Jerusalem.

The next seventy years are shrouded in darkness, but it is clear that the prophet's hopes with regard to Zerubbabel were not fulfilled. It may be that some catastrophe occurred, perhaps some raid of Arabs, the details of which are unknown. 1 Esdras iv. 45–50 preserves the tradition that Edomites burned the Temple and occupied part of Judah. Isa. lxiii seems to imply that the Temple had recently suffered severely; and the hatred of Edom which flames up in Ps. cxxxvii may be connected with this raid.

At all events Jerusalem was in a miserable condition when under Artaxerxes I (465–425 B.C.) in 445 B.C. Nehemiah undertook the restoration of its walls. The rebuilding of the walls was certainly open to misrepresentation. It was going beyond what the Persians commonly did even for their own cities. Their custom was rather to fortify the citadel and to leave the city open,[1] than to surround the whole with walls. According to the Book of Ezra,[2] more than one attempt previously made by the Jews to repair the walls of Jerusalem had been stopped by the Persian authorities at the instance of the Samaritans. The Samaritan objection was, ostensibly, and perhaps really, based on political grounds. It is noticeable that their hostility now again is chiefly directed against Nehemiah the governor, while some of the priestly families, like the family of Eliashib, are on friendly terms with them.

The reason for the change of attitude on the part of the Persian government is not clear. It may be that earlier in the reign of Artaxerxes suspicion had fallen on the Jews in connexion with the rebellion of Egypt (460 B.C.); and that the later revolt (448 B.C.) of the Syrian satrap Megabyzos implicated the Samaritans, the Jews, for that very reason, having held aloof.

However that may be, Nehemiah when he came to Jerusalem in 445 came with large powers and was able not only to secure the rebuilding of the walls but also to intro-

[1] So e.g. the capital itself (Susa).

[2] Ezra iv and v.

duce some considerable reforms.[1] It is worth noting that the actual observances described in Nehemiah's memoirs are nearly but not exactly in accordance with the regulations laid down in the Priestly writings (P). For example, the Temple tax is levied (Neh. x. 32) at the rate of a third of a shekel per head, whereas a half-shekel per head is required in P; and the day of public confession of sin is not exactly the Day of Atonement described in P but appears to represent an earlier form of the observance.

The figure of Ezra is a mysterious one. He is not mentioned in the memoirs of Nehemiah or in the catalogue of famous men in Ecclesiasticus or in 2 Maccabees. He appears in Neh. viii. 9 in the company of Nehemiah. If Cheyne's emendation of Ezra vii. 8 be accepted, Ezra's expedition is dated in the 27th rather than the 7th year of Artaxerxes I, i.e. 438; but perhaps the Artaxerxes meant is Artaxerxes II, the seventh year of whose reign was 397 B.C. According to Ezra x. 6, Ezra is a contemporary of Johanan, i.e. the grandson (Neh. xii. 11, 22) of Eliashib the contemporary of Nehemiah. Johanan we know from the Elephantine papyri to have been high-priest in 408 B.C.

The evidence therefore suggests that Ezra's work is to be placed after 445 B.C.; but how long after remains uncertain.

It is very difficult to know what to make of the Hebrew and the Greek books that bear his name, especially as they differ curiously from one another.

No doubt his title 'priest and scribe' gives a clue to his achievement. Probably he had something to do with the compilation of the writings known as P,[2] possibly with the promulgation of the Pentateuch as a whole.

[1] Cheyne (*Jewish Religious Life after the Exile*, pp. 40 ff.) draws attention to an interesting parallel to the work of Nehemiah in that of Uza-hor, an Egyptian official under Cambyses and Darius I who succeeded in restoring the worship of the goddess Nit and in performing useful service for his co-religionists.

[2] Writings which are to be regarded as the work of a school rather

At all events the Pentateuch as a whole was accepted by the Samaritans, and what looks like the beginning of the Samaritan schism is described in Neh. xiii. 28: 'One of the sons of Joiada, the son of Eliashib the high priest, was son-in-law to Sanballat the Horonite: therefore I chased him from me.'

Josephus mentions a high-priest's son who married the daughter of one Sanballat a Samaritan and was driven away from the altar at Jerusalem. Josephus[1] names this man Manasseh and goes on to say that his father-in-law promised to build him a temple on Mount Gerizim. But Josephus dates all this nearly a century later and makes Sanballat apply to Alexander the Great for leave to build the temple.

It seems probable, however, that Josephus[2] is here dependent upon the defective chronological tradition which appears also in the oldest rabbinic manual of chronology, the Seder 'Olam.[3] This tradition allows only thirty-four years for the period from the rebuilding of the Temple to the conquest of the Persian Empire by Alexander (i.e. from 520 to 333 B.C.). Such chronological confusion points to the fact that in the older historical sources relating to Palestine the fourth century B.C. was practically a blank. At all events Josephus and the rabbis appear in this connexion to be but broken reeds, and we have to fall back upon the evidence of the Book of Nehemiah. Happily the date suggested for Sanballat by this book has received a certain confirmation from the Elephantine papyri. Plate I. 3 reproduces the end of a copy of a letter[4] dated 408 B.C. in which

than of an individual, and were probably compiled in Palestine (and not in Babylonia as many scholars used to suppose).

[1] *Ant.* xi. 7. 2, xi. 8. 2, 4.

[2] Josephus apparently confuses Darius II with Darius III.

[3] The Seder 'Olam (30) reckons 420 years from the building of the Second Temple to the destruction of Herod's: 34 to the Persian period, 180 to the Greek, 103 to the Maccabees, 103 to Herod and his successors. This compression of history brings Ezra, Zerubbabel, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi all into the same generation.

[4] Papyrus no. 30 in Dr. Cowley's edition (Sachau, Pl. ii).

(in the last line but one) are mentioned 'Delaiah and Shelemaiah the sons of Sanballat governor of Samaria'.

On the other hand, the very same letter refers to Bagohi (or Bigvai) [1] the governor of Judaea, and Johanan the high-priest, in such a way as to make it clear that by 408 B.C. no news of any schism between Jerusalem and Samaria had reached Elephantine. The probability is therefore that the schism is not to be dated before 400 B.C., while the passage which has already been quoted from the Book of Nehemiah suggests a date very little later than this.

That the exclusiveness advocated by men like Nehemiah, Ezra, and Malachi did not pass without challenge we have an indication in the Book of Ruth. But whatever the opposition may have been, a fence was at length securely erected around the little commonwealth of Jews, and within it for a generation or more of isolation they trained themselves to live under the Law.

Later Jewish tradition states that the men of the Great Synagogue took up the work where Ezra left it off, and records as characteristic of the last and greatest of them, Simon I, the Righteous, the following maxim: 'The three pillars upon which the world rests are the Law, the Holy Ritual, and Lovingkindness.' [2]

It is a mistake to suppose that in practice life under the Law is as tedious as a reading of the Talmud might lead one to imagine. The late Dr. Abrahams used to point out in criticizing Schürer's chapter on this subject that when a whole community is governed by such rules the routine of following them becomes comparatively easy. And, of course, in the fourth century B.C. the mass of regulations which in later times were embodied in the Talmud was only beginning to be formed. Lovingkindness, attention to

[1] This authentication of the name Bagohi (Bagoses or Bagoas), *Ant.* xi. 7, seems to indicate that even in this section where his chronology is in disorder Josephus is in touch with a genuinely historical tradition.

[2] *Aboth*, i. 1.

the due performance of public worship,[1] conformity to the practical regulations contained in the Pentateuch [2]—these were the obligations laid upon the pious Jew. Nor was he slow to fulfil them. The priests had no means of enforcing the payment of their dues, and their dues were considerable and tended to increase; but public opinion demanded [3] and, on the whole, secured regular payment. The reforms initiated in regard to the matter by Nehemiah proved abundantly and permanently successful: and a similar success attended his efforts with regard to the observance of the Sabbath. So strong and strict did the tradition of Sabbath-observance eventually become, that in the middle of the second century B.C., after years of exposure to the disintegrating influence of Hellenism, pious opinion held it to be wrong to take up arms even in self-defence on the Sabbath day, and on one occasion [4] a thousand persons are said to have given up their lives rather than desecrate the day by fighting.

Even before the time of Nehemiah the centre of gravity of the world of which Palestine formed a part was shifting from Susa to the Aegean Sea. The disasters of Salamis (480 B.C.) and Plataea (479 B.C.) definitely shattered the offensive power of the Persian Empire.

The Apulian krater [5] from which the scene depicted in Plate II. 4 is taken dates from about the time of the famous

[1] 'The object of the elaborate sacrificial system was not to produce peace of mind for the individual, but to unify the community on a sound religious basis, maintaining its consecrated character unimpaired.' Cheyne, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

[2] Similarly 'the ideal . . . was not in the first place material prosperity but simply to be and to do as a community all that a righteous God approved'. Cheyne, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

[3] See e.g. Ecclus. vii. 31.

[4] 1 Macc. ii. 31–8.

[5] Found at Canusium in 1851 and now at Naples (3253), A. Furtwängler u. R. Reichold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, 88. The description is taken from A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, ii, pp. 852–4.

march of the ten thousand Greeks into the heart of the Persian Empire and back (400 B.C.).

The painting is inspired by some lost tragedy, not improbably the 'Persians' of Phrynichus. The three registers contain in all twenty-two figures and have as their subject the presumptuous invasion of Greece by the Persians.

In the lowest register the satraps are bringing golden bowls and sacks of money to the royal treasurer: we note the anxiety of those who have nothing to bring. In the second sits Darius, serene and splendid, 'the peer of gods',[1] surrounded by councillors, some in Greek and some in Persian dress, while a man attired as a traveller tries to dissuade him from his purpose. In the highest register the stars and the rising ground-line show that we are upon Olympus. Nike points to Hellas, a stately draped figure, led forward by Athena and presented to Zeus as the coming Victor. Asia with her crown and sceptre has fled for refuge to a shrine from which she is being tempted away by a fury named Apate ('Deceit').[2]

During the fourth century the imperial impotence became more and more obvious throughout the Persian dominions, and rebellions of satraps in Asia Minor and Syria were of frequent occurrence. In some of these, notably during the reign of Artaxerxes III (Ochus, 359–338), Palestine was probably involved and suffered severely. Perhaps the composition of Isa. xxiv–xxvii may be referred to this period.[3] Artaxerxes III was vigorous and successful and for a time restored the empire; Egypt, for example, which had actually asserted its independence in 404 B.C., was reduced in 343. It is worth notice that in this campaign against Egypt Artaxerxes employed a vizier whose name was Bagoas,[4] together with Greek generals and

[1] Aeschylus, *Pers.* 634.

[2] Cf. the part played by Satan in 1 Chron. xxi. 1.

[3] So, following Cheyne, many scholars, e.g. Skinner. Others, e.g. Duhm and Kennett, consider these chapters Maccabean.

[4] Cf. Bagohi, p. 56.

mercenaries. Greeks, indeed, were being increasingly engaged all over the Persian world. Greek physicians were ministering in the palaces, Greek troops were being quartered as garrisons,[1] and schools of Greek art-workers were settling in various centres. These artists, while remaining Greeks, added 'a trifle of local tang' which made their work attractive to their customers, and at the same time the work as a whole tended to hellenize their taste.[2]

The seventeen sarcophagi discovered in 1887 in an underground tomb at Sidon illustrate the eagerness with which even purely Greek productions were purchased by the satraps. The famous 'Satrap' sarcophagus of Parian marble with its scenes of hunting and banqueting dates from about the middle of the fifth century B.C., and the 'Mourners' sarcophagus probably about a century later. It has been suggested that the beautiful female figures in the eighteen panels of the latter are meant to be the members of the satrap's harem in Greek dress. More probably they are simply representations of Grief.

These sarcophagi are singularly free from local influence and remind us that Art is now more and more becoming cosmopolitan, and that the conception of humanity as a whole and of a civilized world dates from this age. This conception is strikingly embodied in the well-known relief of Archelaus of Priene representing Homer crowned by the World and Time.

'Local tang', on the other hand, is unmistakable in the fourth-century quarter-shekel from the south of Palestine, perhaps from Gaza, with a bearded male head in a crested 'Corinthian' helmet on the obverse, and a male divinity seated on a winged wheel on the reverse. This divinity would naturally be the divinity most honoured in the district: and it is very significant that his name is written in old Hebrew characters above his head JHV (Jehovah).[3]

[1] e. g. at Daphnae, Naukratis, and Memphis.

[2] Rostovtsev, i. 334.

[3] On this coin see A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, i. 232–7.

3. *The Hellenistic Period*

We have now arrived at one of the most notable dates in history, 333 B.C., the date of the battle of Issus in which Alexander broke the power of the Persian Empire. In the following year Alexander passed through Palestine to Egypt, capturing Tyre after a siege of seven months, and Gaza after a siege of two, and being welcomed by the Jews, some of whom made themselves useful in the intelligence corps of his army. Jews were among the first settlers in the new city he founded under the name of Alexandria. Everywhere he acted with a statesman-like conciliation [1] and Plutarch's estimate of his aims is probably not far wide of the mark: 'He sought to blend as it were in the mixing cup of good fellowship all civilizations and customs.' [2]

An illustration of the general attitude of Alexander's government will be found by comparing the coins of Mazaeus, the last ruler of Tarsus under the Persians, with the coins struck in the city under Alexander. On the obverse of the former is the local deity Ba'al-tars, having now lost some of his old attributes, sitting with a himation about his lower limbs, looking rather like the Greek Zeus; on the obverse of the latter is Zeus himself, also sitting similarly with a himation about his lower limbs, looking extraordinarily like the Ba'al-tars of Mazaeus.[3]

Alexander himself was hailed by the oracles of Apollo at Didyma and Ammon-Ra in Egypt, and also by the priests of Babylon, as of divine origin. To such persons as the Anatolian Greeks, who had been inclined to pay divine honours even to Lysander and Agesilaus, Alexander's Indian campaigns 'really seemed to be a repetition of the

[1] Thus Josephus's story (*Ant.* xi. 8) of Jaddua, the Jewish high-priest coming in full pontificals to meet Alexander on his approach to the city and winning his favour, if not true, is, at all events, *ben trovato*.

[2] *de Alex. Fort. et Virt.* Or. i. 6. Alexander specially 'set himself to bring together the Macedonians and Iranians as the two most efficient elements of his empire'. Rostovtsev, i. 351.

[3] See A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, i. 596, 597.

conquest of India by the god Dionysus'.[1] Long after his death (13 June 323), and long after his great empire had fallen into pieces, the tradition of the divine nature of his power remained an important factor in the realms of his successors. His worship became official in all these Hellenistic kingdoms whose rulers as the heirs of Alexander claimed divine origin also for themselves and divine sanction for their rule. Actually they were encouraged to press such claims by finding a similar view of kingly powers held already by their less educated subjects.[2] Moreover, in the mind of the educated Greek the idea of *the divine-in-general* was beginning to take the place of the idea of deities-in-particular; and he was quite prepared to believe that *the divine* should, from time to time or even continuously, be incarnated in the leaders, saviours, and benefactors of mankind.[3] It did not appear unnatural therefore that rulers should take such titles as Soter, Theos, Epiphanes, Euergetes, and so on.

On the coins of the Diadochi, Alexander's successors, Alexander himself is to be found represented as the sky-god [4] of three continents: with the horn of Ammon-Ra, the Egyptian sun-god; with the aegis of the Greek Zeus; and with the elephant's scalp of the Indian god of the sky. Plate II. 5 shows two coins (the smaller of gold, the larger of silver) of Lysimachus of Thrace giving Alexander the horn of Ammon-Ra, and a silver coin struck by Ptolemy I as governor of Egypt in the name of Alexander's infant son, on which Alexander wears the elephant's scalp, and the aegis (round his neck).[5] At the same time Alexander is also remembered as a great general, young [6] and brave and charming. This is the impression of him that remains upon

[1] Rostovtsev, i, p. 352.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 365. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 385.

[4] This, of course, is much more than merely being worshipped after death as a hero, as e.g. Sophocles was by the Athenians.

[5] B. V. Head, *Coins of the Ancients*, Pl. 28. 18–20.

[6] He was only thirty-two when he died.

the carving of that magnificent sarcophagus, the Alexander sarcophagus, made, probably, about 300 B.C. for Abdalonymos, who had been appointed king of Sidon by Alexander himself.

In the break-up of Alexander's empire Palestine, together with Egypt, fell to the portion of Ptolemy, the son of Lagus. At first Ptolemy ruled merely as governor in the name of Alexander's infant son, but in 306 B.C., he took the title of king. In the meantime a friend of his, Seleucus, one of Alexander's most distinguished cavalry officers, had captured Babylon (Dan. xi. 2), and after the battle of Ipsus (301 B.C.) founded a new capital at Antioch on the Orontes. Seleucus coveted Palestine, especially the seaports of Phoenicia, in order to keep in closer touch with the Greek world to which he and his successors looked for recruits for their armies. But the control of the Palestinian coast, as far north as possible, was also desired by Egypt; and Egypt further felt it necessary to maintain a strong fleet for which the forests of the Lebanon furnished the supply of timber.

4. *Palestine under the Ptolemies*

In spite of the protests of Seleucus, therefore, Ptolemy I established the northern border of his kingdom on a line just north of Aradus.[1] By this time there was but one head of the Jewish community, viz. the High Priest. When exactly the secular governor disappeared we do not know. The last we hear of (in the fourth century) has according to Josephus (*Ant.* xi. 7. 1) the name Bagohi.[2]

The High Priest appears to be assisted by a *gerousia* or council of elders. This council is first mentioned by Josephus in connexion with his account (*Ant.* xii. 3. 3) of

[1] The northern frontier receded to the south of Berytus about 250 B.C., and advanced again to the north of Aradus some twenty-five years later (see U. Kahrstedt, *Syrische Territorien in hellenistischer Zeit*, map 1a).

[2] p. 56.

FIG. 4. The presumptuous invasion of Greece by the Persians. (The principal side of the 'Darius Vase'—Naples 3253)

From 'Zeus', by permission of Dr. A. B. Cook

FIG. 5. Alexander the Great as the Sky-god of three continents: with the horn of Ammon-Ra of Egypt, the elephant-scalp of the Indian Sky-god, and the aegis of Zeus

From Head, 'Coins of the Ancients', by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum

FIG. 6. The *Tell* at Beisan now being excavated by the Palestine Expedition of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania

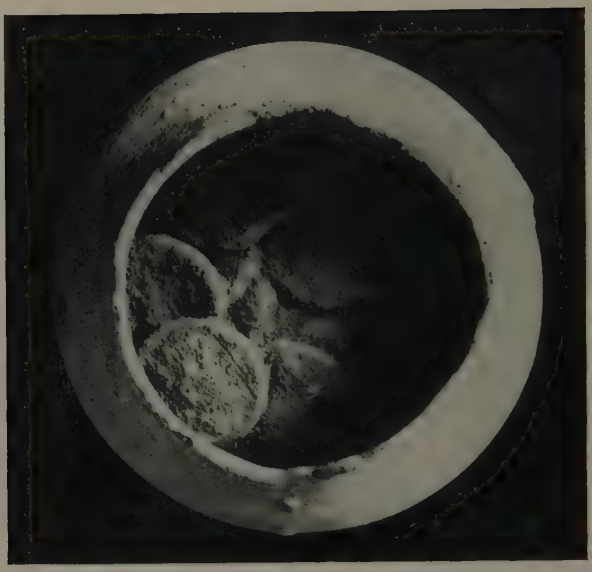


FIG. 7. Bowl of coins as first found

FIG. 8. The coins after being cleaned: obverse, head of Ptolemy I (Soter)

FIG. 9. The coins after being cleaned: reverse, the Ptolemaic eagle

By permission of the Palestine Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania Museum

Antiochus the Great (223–187 B. C.), but it was probably in existence at least before the end of the Persian period.[1]

Under the Ptolemies the High Priest and the council (later referred to as the *Sanhedrin*[2]) seem to have administered the internal affairs of the country much as before, the Egyptian government not interfering so long as its taxes were properly paid.

The Greek influence which had for a long time been trickling into Palestine through trading centres like Gaza, now greatly increased in volume until almost all the larger towns were affected by it.

Among the older foundations which rapidly became Hellenistic in tone the following may be mentioned: Acca (which under Ptolemy II became Ptolemais), Amathus, Amman (which under Ptolemy II became Philadelphia), Apollonia, Ascalon, Azotus, Beisan (Scythopolis), Dora, Gadara, Gamala, Jamnia, Joppa, Marissa, Raphia, Samaria, Sepphoris and Straton's Tower.

Plate II. 6 shows the *tell* at Beisan which to-day covers the remains of the ancient city; Plate III. 7, a bowl of coins, unearthed there, exactly as they were first found; Plate III. 8 and 9, the same coins after being cleaned. They are coins of Ptolemy I (Soter) with Ptolemy himself on the obverse and the Ptolemaic eagle on the reverse.

New cities also sprang up which from the first were essentially Greek. Dium and Pella in the Peraea date perhaps from the time of Alexander, and Philoteria is a foundation of Ptolemy II's on the Sea of Galilee. The Ptolemies themselves, however, unlike the Seleucids, were not great city-builders,[3] and the hellenizing of Palestine was never part of their deliberate policy. Hellenization

[1] Cf. 2 Chron. xix. 8, and see Schürer, *Geschichte*, ii[4]. 240).

[2] So designated first in Josephus, *Ant.* xiv. 9. 3.

[3] Except Alexandria, Naukratis, and Ptolemais in the south (founded by Ptolemy I), there were no cities in the whole of Egypt which had Greek institutions and a predominantly Greek population (Rostovtsev, i. 367).

nevertheless proceeded steadily, and is reflected in the Palestinian literature of the period.

Greek city life has left its mark for instance on the Book of Proverbs (*c.* 250 B.C.);[1] and the 'Wisdom' literature as a whole—especially Ecclesiastes (*c.* 200) and Ecclesiasticus (*c.* 175)— shows signs of that subtle Greek influence which was permeating the Hellenistic empires bordering on the eastern end of the Mediterranean.

Two illustrations of the Hellenistic art of the period are given on Plate IV. 10 and 11.

Art, it will be seen, is becoming cosmopolitan,[2] and these groups make their appeal not to a particular locality but wherever there is an educated eye to see them. The figures in the first group are those of Eirene and Ploutos, the lady Peace with her child Wealth. The statue is now at Munich[3] and is a copy of an original by the sculptor Kephisodotos of the beginning of the fourth century. With such personification of abstract ideas, a characteristic feature of the art of the period, we may compare the famous personification of Wisdom in Prov. viii.

The other plate shows an Alexandrian relief in marble (also at Munich)[4] and illustrates the realism which is characteristic of another type of Hellenistic art. A countryman is driving a cow to market, and the artist is interested in such details as his basket, the dead hare hanging from his pole, the two sheep slung pannier-wise over the cow. This artistic interest in small matters reminds us of the discussion in Ecclesiasticus of such everyday subjects as the

[1] Compare e.g. *the strange woman* of the Proverbs (xiii. 5, &c.) with the Greek *hetaira*.

[2] Similarly 'the grand idea of a human family' lies behind such passages as Ecclus. i. 15, xxxix. 4, 10. Cheyne, *op. cit.*, p. 134. Cf. Eccles. i. 12–14 'un-Hebraic' (Cheyne, *op. cit.*, p. 198; note also Eccles. iii. 11).

[3] *Glyptothek* 219, Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler griechischer u. römischer Skulptur*, 43. The jug is a German addition. The original probably had a cornucopiae.

[4] Munich 455, T. Schreiber, *Die hellenistischen Reliefbilder*, Pl. lxxx. See A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, ii. 152.

treatment of children and servants, correct behaviour at table, and so on.

Actual literary parallels to passages in Greek authors are not hard to find. It must suffice to refer to two in Ecclesiasticus. The first is Ecclus. xi. 28, 'Call no man blessed before his death'. A saying substantially the same, though not in these exact words, is ascribed by tradition to Solon, and is quoted a good deal in Greek literature.[1] The second is the recommendation in Ecclus. xxxviii. 17 of moderation in mourning:

> Let thy mourning be according to his desert,
> For one day or two, lest thou be evil spoken of.

With this we may compare a saying of Teles, a Cynic philosopher of the middle of the third century:

> How unreasonable and utterly foolish for a man to sit weeping and moaning because his friend is dead! Making himself ill as well![2]

The fact is that in the Hellenistic period not only is thought moving in parallel lines all through the countries bordering on the Levant, but numerous inter-connexions and cross-references have also to be taken into account.

Palestine itself produced several Greek writers of note. Among these may be mentioned Menippus the satirist (third century B.C.), Meleager of the Greek Anthology (first half of first century B.C.), Philodemus the Epicurean, a contemporary of Cicero, and Theodorus the rhetorician of the end of the first century B.C., all of Gadara; Antiochus, the Stoic teacher of Cicero, from Ascalon; Eupolemus the historian, perhaps the Eupolemus mentioned in 1 Macc. viii. 17, and the grammarians Dorotheus and Ptolemaeus of the first century A.D.

Plate IV. 12 shows an interesting relic of the Satyric drama of the period. This votive mask of terra-cotta, now a possession of Dr. A. B. Cook,[3] is said to have been found

[1] e. g. Herodotus, i. 32. 7, and Sophocles, *Oedipus Tyrannus*, 1528–30.

[2] Quoted by E. R. Bevan in Bury, *The Hellenistic Age*, p. 85.

[3] *Zeus*, i, Pl. xxxvii, p. 697.

near a spring at Anthedon. It is a mask worn by a Satyric choreutes.[1]

But we must return to political and social conditions. The Egyptian government, as has already been observed, seems to have done little in Palestine beyond exacting tribute.[2] The recently discovered 'Zeno' papyri have made a considerable addition to our knowledge of the trade between Palestine and Egypt. Zeno was a Greek employed by a high official under Ptolemy II (Philadelphus) as his agent in Palestine and elsewhere. We hear from him of the careful trade regulations of the government which, we gather, were frequently disregarded. Not only cloth [3] and corn, but also slaves and oil,[4] the importation of which was strictly forbidden, were bought for Egypt in large quantities.

Zeno mentions a certain wealthy Ammonite of the name of Tobias with whom he did business. This Tobias was the owner of a castle (*Birta*), and he sent a present to Philadelphus of horses and dogs and two white camels. Not improbably the ruins now known as Ḳaṣr el-'Abd are remains of this castle, and at the entrance to one of a series of the remarkable caves of 'Arak el-Emir close by the name Tobias may still be read clearly written in Hebrew.[5]

Of another member of this family,[6] Joseph the son of Tobiah, Josephus has an entertaining story to tell.[7] Joseph

[1] It will be noticed that holes are pierced for the eyes and nostrils but not for the mouth.

[2] The Ptolemies treated Egypt itself as one great crown estate. Works of irrigation and land improvement on a large scale were undertaken. Colonies of Greek settlers were planted in various places, and these Greeks made no pretence of being there for any other purpose than to enrich themselves.

[3] Cf. the reference to the merchant in Prov. vii. 19 (cf. vii. 16).

[4] M. Rostovtsev, *A Large Estate in Egypt in the Third Century B.C.*, p. 34. Zeno's complaint against the Treasury has a curiously modern ring: 'You know well how it is not easy to recover money from the Treasury'.

[5] See G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, vol. ii, Pl. xv.

[6] Probably descended from Tobiah the Ammonite (Neh. iv. 3).

[7] *Ant.* xii. 4.

FIG. 10. Eirene and Ploutos (after an original by Kephisodotos)
From 'Denkmäler griechischer u. romischer Skulptur'

FIG. 11. Alexandrian relief: Rustic scene
From T. Schreiber, 'Die hellenistischen Reliefbilder'

FIG. 12. Satyric mask from Anthedon
From 'Zeus', by permission of Dr. A. B. Cook

FIG. 13. Painted Frieze in a Sidonian Tomb at Marissa: elephant and rhinoceros

From J. P. Peters and H. Thiersch, 'Painted Tombs in the Necropolis of Marissa'

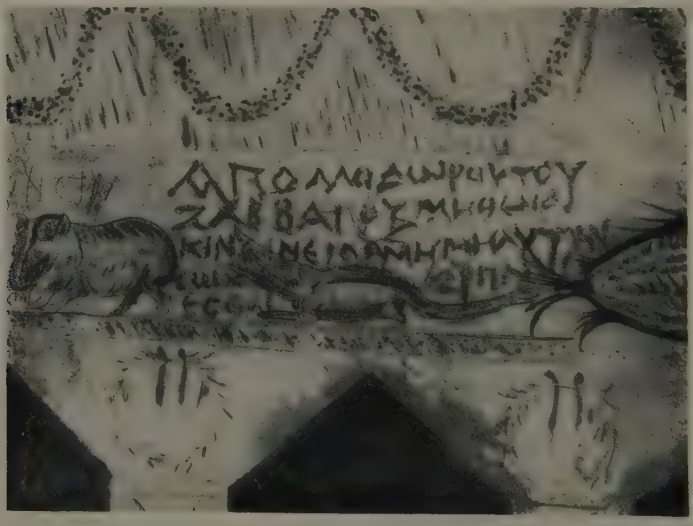


FIG. 14. Painted Frieze in a Sidonian Tomb at Marissa: hippopotamus, crocodile, and fish

From J. P. Peters and H. Thiersch, 'Painted Tombs in the Necropolis of Marissa'

made the highest bid for the taxes of Palestine, and, having secured the post of tax-collector, proved his patriotism by exacting the whole amount due to the government from the Gentiles and allowing the Jews to escape scot-free. The details of the story, no doubt, must not be pressed, but it illustrates the fact that the burden of taxation was not felt very heavily, and also the fact that the country was largely dominated by a few great families. That of Tobias [1] was one of the chief of them and the rival family of Onias was another.

The tone of the Book of Proverbs is similarly on the whole one of contentment with the powers that be.

'The king's favour is toward a servant that dealeth wisely' (Prov. xiv. 35). 'A divine sentence is in the lips of the king: his mouth shall not transgress in judgement' (xvi. 10).[2] 'My son, fear thou the Lord and the king: and meddle not with them that are given to change' (xxiv. 21).

A very interesting monument of Ptolemaic times was discovered at the beginning of the present century at Marissa (more anciently Moresheth, the home of the prophet Micah), in the shape of a great tomb-chamber, made for the family of Apollophanes, the head of a Sidonian colony settled there in the third century B.C. The chamber is decorated with a fine series of coloured frescoes, some of which are reproduced in Plate V. 13, 14.[3]

In the first the figure of the negro leading the elephant has been defaced by the fanatical sheikh who first discovered the tomb-chamber. The elephant appears to be an Indian elephant.[4] The crocodile and the fish (Fig. 14)

[1] This family seems to have held its castle almost in feudal state and to have maintained itself by making raids and forays (cf. Prov. i. 10–19) as well as by trading and holding government offices.

[2] Cf. viii. 16, xx. 8, xxii. 11, 29, xxv. 2, xxx. 31, xxxi. 4.

[3] J. P. Peters and H. Thiersch, *Painted Tombs in the Necropolis of Marissa*, Pl. x, xii. With this animal frieze compare the animal carvings at Ḳaṣr el-'Abd (p. 66), G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, ii, Pl. xii.

[4] Ptolemy I could not procure a sufficient number of remounts from India and so began to use African elephants. A special effort was

remind us of Ezek. xxix. 1–16, where Hophra, king of Egypt, is compared to a crocodile and his people to fishes.

All through the third century B.C., the Ptolemies remained masters of Palestine, and the Seleucid kings of Antioch coveted it in vain. But towards the end of the century Antiochus III, the Great, made a determined effort to wrest it from the hands of Ptolemy IV (Philopator). Ptolemy defeated him decisively at Raphia in 217 B.C.; but when in 205 B.C. Ptolemy died and was succeeded by a boy of five, Ptolemy V (Epiphanes), Antiochus made another attempt.

The contrast between the Great King, now at the height of his influence, and the mere child at Alexandria is illustrated by the coins on Plate VI. 15. The contemporary coins above show Antiochus (on the left) and Ptolemy (on the right); and below, a later Roman coin shows the head of Alexandria turreted on the one side, and on the other, M. Lepidus, Tutor regis, and his royal pupil, Ptolemy, in a Greek dress, holding a sceptre in his right hand.[1]

Very likely it was this contrast that suggested the observation of Ecclesiastes (x. 16, 17):

> Woe to thee, O land, when thy king is a child, and thy princes eat in the morning! Happy art thou, O land, when thy king is the son of nobles, and thy princes eat in due season, for tsrength, and not for drunkenness!'

Such words, at all events, would apply to the dissolute court at Alexandria and the vigorous personality of Antiochus;[2] and there must have been at least a section of the

made by Ptolemy III (Euergetes) to obtain a further supply from India (Diodor. iii. 18). Polybius (v. 84) describes how badly the African elephants of Ptolemy IV (Philopator) behaved at Raphia when opposed to the Indian elephants of Antiochus the Great.

[1] The coin was struck about 65 B.C., by M. Lepidus, colleague of Antony and Octavius, a descendant of the 'Tutor' on the coin. (*Coins of the Roman Republic Br. Mus.*, i. 3648, p. 449, Pl. xlvi. 9).

[2] Compare also the tone of Eccles. x. 20 with that of Prov. viii. 16. There may well be other references in Ecclesiastes to recent or contemporary conditions and events: iv. 13–16 may perhaps have in view

Jewish people which welcomed the news of the defeat of Scopas, Ptolemy's general, at Paneas. After this victory Antiochus had little difficulty in taking possession of the country.

5. *Palestine under the Seleucids*

The Seleucid kings were always more active in their championing of Hellenism than the Ptolemies. They founded numerous Greek cities [1] all over their empire, and gloried in being the patrons and protectors of Greek city life.

The immediate successors of Antiochus the Great found themselves crippled by the tremendous war-indemnity he had agreed to pay to the Romans after his crushing defeat at Magnesia in 190 B.C. The next king but one, Antiochus IV, Epiphanes (175–164 B.C.), seems to have set before himself, above all, the ambition of strengthening his kingdom against Rome. His first plan was to bring Egypt under his sway. When the Romans prevented this—which they did with a haughtiness that roused the indignation of the Greek-speaking world—he threw himself all the more zealously into his second. This was to weld his dominion into a real unity of Hellenistic culture. His empire should, for example, unite in the worship of the deity signally manifest[2] in himself—Zeus. The local cults of his oriental subjects all centred round various Baals who resembled, more or less, Zeus Olympios who now 'became the leading and, one might say, the official god of the

the career of Tlepolemus in Alexandria; ix. 14–16, the unsuccessful siege of the little town of Dora by Antiochus the Great in 219–218; x. 7, the contrast between Agathocles, the low-born favourite of Ptolemy Philopator, and Cleomenes, the exiled king of Sparta.

[1] According to Appian, Seleucus I himself founded no less than 16 Antiochias after his father, 5 Laodiceas after his mother, 9 Seleucias after himself, 3 Apameas and 1 Stratonicea after his wives, besides other cities after places in Macedonia, &c.

[2] On the primary meaning of *ἐπιφανής* in this connexion see A. D. Nock in *JHS*, 1928, pp. 40–1.

Empire'.[1] In the great temple of Apollo at Daphne by Antioch a close copy of Pheidias' famous statue of Zeus at Olympia was set up. This statue is represented on the reverse of the two coins of Epiphanes shown in Plate VI. 16.[2] Dr. E. R. Bevan has called attention to the resemblance between the face of Zeus on the obverse of the first coin and the face of Epiphanes himself on the obverse of the second. The cult of Zeus, especially as Zeus Epiphanes, was now enforced throughout the Seleucid Empire. Nowhere is any opposition to it recorded, except only in Judaea. Here the determined resistance of the Jews must have surprised Antiochus greatly. The Jewish families settled by Antiochus the Great in Phrygia and Lydia had proved amenable enough. It was so easy to identify Zeus with Jehovah. *Theos Hypsistos* was a title applied to both: a synagogue in Mysia of about 125 B.C. seems actually to have worshipped Zeus Hypsistos.[3] Throughout Palestine the process of hellenization had been proceeding rapidly. Onias III, the High Priest in Jerusalem at the beginning of the reign of Epiphanes, had been highly respected as an opponent of hellenizing influences, but he had been ousted from office and murdered. His place had been bought by his brother Jason, an ardent hellenizer, who had himself

[1] E. T. Newell, *The Seleucid Mint of Antioch*, p. 23. Apollo, the alleged progenitor of the House of Seleucus, had been the patron deity of the Seleucid dynasty, but Epiphanes was devoted to Zeus. He began the erection of a magnificent temple to Zeus at Athens (which remained unfinished till the time of Hadrian): and dedicated another on the citadel at Antioch to the same deity. It is noteworthy that Zeus disappears from the coins of Epiphanes' successor, Demetrius I, reappears under Alexander Balas, who claimed Epiphanes as his father, and is again replaced by Apollo under Demetrius II (son of Demetrius I).

[2] Babelon, *Les rois de Syrie*, Pl. xii. 11, 10.

[3] Tarn, *Hellenistic Civilization*, p. 180. F. Cumont, *Les Mystères de Sabazius et le Judaïsme* in *Comptes rendus, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1906, pp. 76, 77. In one of the inscriptions published by Perdrizet, *Bull. Corr. hell.* xxiii, 1899, p. 292, the synagogue is referred to thus: *Ἐν τῇ τοῦ Διὸς συναγωγῇ*.

FIG. 15. Antiochus the Great and Ptolemy V. Underneath on a Roman silver denarius Alexandria (turreted) and M. Lepidus, *Tutor regis*, with his royal pupil Ptolemy V in a Greek dress, holding a sceptre in his right hand

By permission of the Trustees of the British Museum

FIG. 16. Coins of Antiochus IV (Epiphanes)
Top, obverse: Zeus; reverse: Zeus Nikephoros (after Pheidias' famous statue)
Below, obverse: Zeus; reverse: again Zeus Nikephoros

From Babelon, 'Les Rois de Syrie'

FIG. 17. Alexander Balas and Cleopatra

From Babelon, 'Les Rois de Syrie'

soon been replaced by Menelaus, probably a member of the rival family of the Tobiads, another enthusiastic admirer of Hellenism.[1]

But when an altar to Zeus was erected on the great altar in the Temple at Jerusalem and the execution of the king's order led to the development of what was no less than an attempt to stamp out the Jewish religion by a cruel persecution, all sections of the Jewish people, with the exception of a few of the most extreme hellenizers, were drawn together in a desperate struggle for deliverance. Under the able leadership of Judas, the third son of Mattathias, a priest from the little township of Modin, not far from Joppa, they waged guerrilla warfare against the king's forces. Judas made good use of his knowledge of the country and would never wait to be attacked. By sudden movements, forced marches and night operations he surprised and harried his opponents; and his men fought with fierce and religious courage. At length they gained possession of the Temple Mount, and on the twenty-fifth of Chislev 165 B.C., exactly three years after the first desecration of the sanctuary, it was cleansed and re-dedicated at a solemn service of thanksgiving. Two years later, after the death of Epiphanes, the Seleucid government found its hands so full at home that it was ready to come to terms with the Jewish insurgents. A treaty was drawn up by which religious liberty was secured (163 B.C.); and the most religious section of the people, the *Ḥasidim*,[2] were thus satisfied.

[1] Onias IV the son of Onias III had thereupon fled to Egypt, the Oniad family having all along favoured the Ptolemies rather than the Seleucids. A little later, about 150 B.C., he founded a new Temple to Jehovah, according to the recent researches of Professor Petrie, after the model of the old, though on a reduced scale, at Leontopolis. See W. M. F. Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities* (1906), Pl. xxv. For a criticism of this identification see T. E. Peet, *Egypt and the Old Testament*, pp. 213 ff. But though some of Professor Petrie's conjectures as to detail may be set aside, the main conclusion that Tell el-Yahudijeh marks the site of Leontopolis still seems to hold good.

[2] i.e. *the pious*, the section represented later by the Pharisees.

Subsequent events, however, soon showed that unless more was gained even this degree of liberty was not really secure; and the force of circumstances together with a natural patriotism—to say nothing of personal ambition—drove Judas and his brothers into struggling and scheming for political power. A final triumph of arms was out of the question if the Seleucid authorities really roused themselves; but the Jewish leaders took advantage of the internal dissensions in the capital and elsewhere within the Seleucid Empire; and while they became more and more Hellenistic and 'worldly' in the process, and were accordingly regarded by the *Ḥasidim* with increasing suspicion, a considerable measure of success attended their efforts.

6. *The Maccabean Priest-Princes*

Judas was killed in 161. His brother Jonathan was recognized as High Priest by Alexander Balas, who claimed to be a son of Epiphanes and reigned at Antioch from 150 to 145 B.C. In the first year of his reign Alexander married Cleopatra, daughter of Ptolemy Philometor of Egypt. The wedding was celebrated with great pomp at Ptolemais. Jonathan was present on the occasion and was much flattered by the honour done him by the king who, pretender though by all accounts he was, showed himself possessed of a kingly dignity and graciousness. The coin figured on Plate VI. 17[1] shows the busts of Alexander and his queen.

In the opinion of many scholars Ps. xlv was written (or possibly re-written) as an epithalamium in honour of this royal marriage:

> The king's daughter within the palace is all glorious:
> Her clothing is inwrought with gold.
> She shall be led unto the king in broidered work:
> . . . . . .
> So shall the king desire thy beauty:
> For he is thy lord; and worship thou him.

[1] Babelon, *op. cit.*, Pl. xviii. 20.

When Demetrius II (Nicator) overcame Balas and won the throne to which he was apparently the rightful heir, Jonathan adroitly transferred his allegiance, and received an addition to his territory in the shape of the three toparchies of Ephraim, Lydda, and Ramathaim. Jonathan was murdered in 142 and was succeeded by his brother Simon. Simon, having taken possession of Gezer,[1] recaptured Bethzur, turned the Seleucid garrison out of the citadel at Jerusalem, and by seizing Joppa obtained an outlet to the sea, settled down to some years of peace. In a great national assembly the high-priesthood was confirmed to him and his heirs for ever (141 B.C.) 'until there should arise a faithful prophet' to determine otherwise (1 Macc. xiv. 41).

Two years later (139 B.C.) Antiochus Sidetes, planning to wrest the empire from the usurper, Tryphon (142–138 B.C.), granted Simon the right of coining money.[2] Plate VII. 18[3] shows a half-shekel and a quarter-shekel 'of the year 4 of the redemption of Zion'. Reckoning from 143 B.C., the year when 'the yoke of the heathen' was 'taken away from Israel. And the people began to write in their instruments and contracts, In the first year of Simon the great high-priest and captain and leader of the Jews' (1 Macc. xiii. 41, 42), we get 140 B.C. for 'the fourth year'. Thus it would appear that Sidetes was but confirming a power which had already been assumed.

When Simon was assassinated in 135 B.C., his son John Hyrcanus became High Priest. Only a few small bronze coins of John's have been discovered. They are in poor condition, but the inscription can be read (in Hebrew):

[1] Remains of a Maccabean castle at Gezer were discovered by Professor Macalister (*The Excavation of Gezer*, i. 209), and on one of the stones an imprecation had been scrawled in Greek calling down fire 'on the palace of Simon'.

[2] Probably bronze money only. See *B.M. Catalogue of Greek Coins, Palestine*, xc–xciv; *Num. Chr.*, 1922, 133–4; *PEFQS*, 1927, 47–50.

[3] *B.M. Catalogue Gk. Coins, Palestine*, Pl. xx. 8, 12.

'John the High Priest and the Senate [1] of the Jews'. At first the new High Priest was hard pressed by the Seleucid authorities, but after the death of Sidetes in the Parthian war (129 B.C.) the pressure was removed, and John proceeded to enlarge his territory by campaigns in Moab and in Idumaea, where he compelled the Edomites to accept circumcision. He also captured Shechem and Mount Gerizim, and his sons razed Samaria to the ground.[2] He was the first of the Maccabean rulers to employ foreign mercenaries. Towards the end of his reign he quarrelled with the Pharisees and favoured the Sadducees, of whom as two distinct parties under these names Josephus now speaks for the first time.[3]

On John's death in 104 B.C. he was succeeded by his eldest son, Judas Aristobulus, who extended his father's conquests to Galilee, and is said to have assumed the title of king. This title, however, does not occur on the few coins of his which have been preserved. In the following year Aristobulus died, and his place was taken by his brother, Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 B.C.). The next twenty-five years were filled with conflict both at home and abroad. Sidetes had been the last strong Seleucid ruler, and the empire was now virtually breaking up into little states centred round some capital city. Tyre dates a new era from 126 B.C., Sidon from 111, Ascalon from 104, Berytus from 81.

Jannaeus conquered all the outlying regions, north, south, and east, and subdued all the cities, with the sole

[1] So e.g. J. Wellhausen, *Isr. u. jüd. Gesch.* (8th ed.), 269. Schürer, i. 269, prefers the rendering 'Congregation', but on grounds which appear somewhat insufficient.

[2] *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* seem to refer to these conquests. In its original form this book probably dates from the later Maccabean period. It combines an appeal to all Israel to unite in rallying round Judah (the Judaean centre) and Levi (the Maccabean house) with simple ethical teaching suitable for new converts (like the Edomites).

[3] In the same section (*Ant.* xiii. 5. 9) Josephus also gives an account of the Essenes.

FIG. 18. The First Maccabean Coins (bronze)
Half Shekel, obverse: citron (*ethrog*) with stalk upwards between two bundles of twigs (*lulab*); *year four, half*
reverse: palm tree between two baskets of fruits; *of the redemption of Zion*
Quarter Shekel, obverse: bundle of twigs between two citrons; *year four*
reverse: chalice; *of the redemption of Zion*
From 'Brit. Mus. Catalogue of Coins', by permission of the Trustees

a *b* *c*

FIG. 19. Coins of Alexander Jannaeus, three types: the first inscribed in Greek, the second with a Hebrew inscription re-struck upon the Greek, the third in Hebrew

exception of Ascalon, forcing circumcision on their inhabitants. Jewish dominions had never extended so far since the time of Solomon. The stages of the expansion

Jewish territory under Judas
Additions under Jonathan and Simon
Additions under John Hyrcanus
Additions under Alexander Jannaeus

from the revolt of Judas onwards are roughly indicated on the accompanying map. Plate VII. 19[1] gives specimens of three series of Jannaeus' coins. In the first (*a*) the inscription is in Greek (the first Greek inscription on a Jewish coin), 'King Alexander'[2] on the obverse, and 'Jonathan the

[1] *B.M. Catalogue*, Pl. xxi. 11, 15, 18.

[2] Note the anchor, an indication of the importance attached by the Maccabean princes to the possession of a seaport in Joppa. Compare

King' in Hebrew on the reverse. In the second (*b*) a Hebrew inscription has been re-struck upon the Greek inscription on the obverse. The third series (*c*) has a Hebrew inscription only: 'Jonathan the High Priest and the Senate of the Jews'.

These changes, and especially the re-striking of a Hebrew inscription upon a Greek, may reflect a conflict between Sadducaic and Pharisaic elements and the eventual triumph of the latter; and this is quite in accordance with the account Josephus gives of the disturbances under Jannaeus and of the subsequent rule of his widow, Alexandra (76–67). Alexandra, whose Jewish name was Salome, was a very pious woman, entirely under the influence of the Pharisees; and rabbis like Simon ben Shetaḥ virtually ruled the country. It is not surprising that in the rabbinic tradition the reign is represented as a foretaste of the golden age. 'Under Simon ben Shetaḥ and Queen Salome rain fell on the eve of the Sabbath, so that the corns of wheat were as large as kidneys, the barley corns as large as olives, and the lentils like golden denarii; the scribes gathered such corns, and preserved specimens of them in order to show to future generations what sin entails.' [1]

The following table shows how, allowing thirty-five years for a generation,[2] the list of rabbis given at the beginning of *Aboth* covers the period from Simon the Righteous to Hillel:

B.C.		
c. 220	Simon the Righteous	
185	Antigonus of Socho	
150	Jose ben Joezer	Jose ben Joḥanan
115	Joshua ben Peraḥiah	Mattai the Arbelite
80	Judah ben Tabbai	Simon ben Shetaḥ
45	Shemaiah	Abtalion
10	Hillel	Shammai

the carving of ships on the family tomb at Modin (1 Macc. xiii. 29). This Anchor series is probably the earliest coinage of Jannaeus. See C. Lambert, *PEFQS*, 1927, p. 186.

[1] *Taanith*, 23a.

[2] Job xlii. 16. See G. F. Moore in *Harvard Theological Review*, 1921, pp. 97–103.

In this list the last ten names occur in pairs and the dates of each *floruit* work out roughly as correct. These scholars maintained the tradition of the men of the Great Synagogue[1] who, according to the rabbis, had said three things: 'Be deliberate in judgement; and raise up many disciples; and make a fence to the Torah' (*Aboth*, i. 1).

This serious-mindedness is an expression within the restricted limits of Judaism of a spirit similar to that which animated the Stoics of the larger Hellenistic world. The theme that mere pleasure is short-lived is one that recurs again and again in the literature of the period. It is seen, for example, in a form characteristically Greek in the Book of Wisdom. The famous line (ii. 8) 'Let us crown ourselves with rosebuds before they be withered' finds numerous parallels[2] and receives piquant illustration in the engravings on a fine cup buried at the eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 73 in the little villa at Bosco Reale and now in the Louvre (Plate VIII. 20).[3]

In the scene on the right three skeletons are conversing. The central one crowns himself with roses. The tall one on the left carries a well-filled purse inscribed *φθόνος*, *envy*, while with the other hand he offers the central skeleton a butterfly inscribed *ψυχίον*, *little soul*. The third skeleton contemplates a skull. *Κλωθώ*, *Fate*, round the corner on the right, stretches out her arms towards all the three.

In the scene on the left Zeno[4] points with scorn at Epicurus[4] who, amicably unconcerned, is occupied with a cake placed upon a tripod table, at which a little pig sniffs eagerly, and written above is *τὸ τέλος ἡδονή*, 'the end is pleasure'. Below the handle another skeleton sings the words *τέρπε ζῶν σεαυτόν*, 'rejoice while alive'.

Greek influence was of course still felt in Palestine itself.

[1] p. 56.

[2] e.g. Anacreon; Horace, *Od.* i. 36. 15, ii. 3. 13; Lucr. *Rer. Nat.* iii. 913.

[3] *Mon. Piot*, v (1897), Pl. 8. The description follows that of Mrs. Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, p. 72.

[4] So named.

Traces of it may be observed in the bowl ornamented with an incised pattern found on the eastern hill of Jerusalem and probably dating from this period (Plate VIII. 21).[1] A further example of Maccabean art is seen in Plate VIII. 22[2]: one of the white marble ossuaries from the 'Tombs of the Kings' outside Jerusalem, about half a mile from the Damascus Gate.

At Alexandra's death (67 B.C.) her two sons fought one another for the succession. The younger and more vigorous, Aristobulus, would have wrested the prize from his elder and more indolent brother, Hyrcanus, had not the latter been stirred to activity by his minister Antipater, the son of the governor of Idumaea.

7. *Palestine under the Romans*

At this point the Romans under Pompey appeared on the scene, and Pompey on being appealed to, after some hesitation, decided in favour of Hyrcanus (63 B.C.). At the same time he reduced the dimensions of the Jewish state and formed a federation of semi-independent Hellenistic cities known as the Decapolis. Hyrcanus was left not as King but only as High Priest, and Antipater's influence steadily grew. He managed to make himself useful to Julius Caesar and was rewarded with the Roman citizenship and the title of Procurator of Judaea.[3] One of his sons, Phasael, became governor of Judaea, and another, Herod, governor of Galilee.

The family of Aristobulus now made a bid for the country, and in 40 B.C. Antigonus, one of his sons, was made king in Jerusalem by the Parthians.

In the Parthian invasion Phasael lost his life and Herod fled. Herod fled to Rome, and the Senate gave him the title of King of the Jews. He then returned to Palestine to win his kingdom. He captured Jerusalem in the summer

[1] *PEFQS*, Jan. 1925, Pl. vii, fig. 22.

[2] *PSBA*, xxxiii, 1911, Pl. vii. 9. The ossuary is now in the Louvre. Note the olive branch and the conventional flower with its petals.

[3] Hyrcanus at the same time (47 B.C.) received the title of Ethnarch.

FIG. 20. Philosophizing on a silver cup from Bosco Reale (now in the Louvre)
From 'Mon. Piot' V (1897)

FIG. 21. Maccabean bowl from the Eastern hill of Jerusalem
From 'P.E.F.Q.S.' Jan. 1925

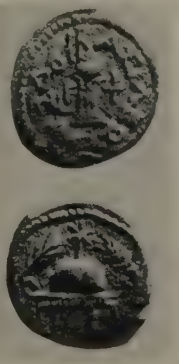


FIG. 23. Coin of Herod the Great
From 'Brit. Mus. Catalogue of Coins', by permission of the Trustees

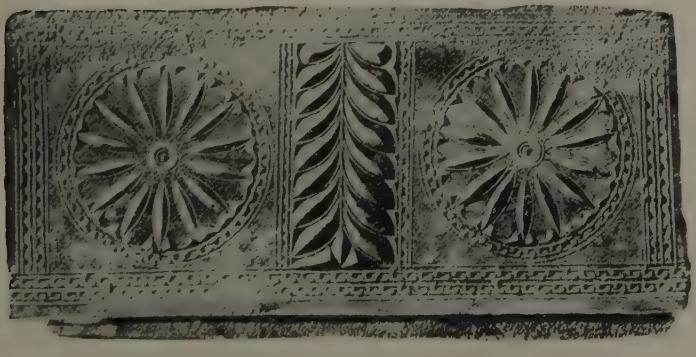


FIG. 22. A white marble ossuary from the 'Tombs of the Kings'
From 'P.S.B.A.' XXXIII (1911)

FIG. 24. Herodian gateway at Samaria (Sebaste) before excavation
From 'Harvard Excavations at Samaria'

FIG. 25. Herodian gateway at Samaria after excavation
From 'Harvard Excavations at Samaria'

of 37 B.C., and reigned thirty-three years. Plate VIII. 23[1] shows the most striking of Herod's coins, dated in the year 3, i.e. probably 37 B.C. The tripod on the obverse[2] and the peculiar ceremonial head-dress on the reverse may perhaps have reference to the celebrations connected with his marriage with Mariamne, daughter of Hyrcanus, and so princess of the old Maccabean house, which took place that year at Samaria.

Plate IX. 24, 25[3] illustrate Herod's well-known activities as a builder. They show one of the Herodian gateways into Samaria,[4] before and after the excavations undertaken by the University of Harvard (1908–1910).

When Herod died (4 B.C.) three of his sons went to Rome to lay their several claims before Augustus. The Emperor assigned Judaea, Samaria, and Idumaea to Archelaus: his coins, two of which are shown on Plate X. 26,[5] bear the inscription *Herod Ethnarch.* Galilee and Peraea were given to Antipas: one of his coins struck at Tiberias is represented in the same plate[6] and his title is *Herod Tetrarch.* The northern districts of Trachonitis, Batanea, and Auranitis fell to Philip, whose coins show, on the obverse, the head of Augustus,[7] and, on the reverse, the inscription *Philip Tetrarch.*

[1] *B.M. Catalogue*, Pl. xxiii. 14.

[2] Note the inscription (in Greek): *King Herod.* As to the monogram ☩ see *Num. Chron.*, 1926, pp. 299, 300, where I suggest that it is the signature of an officer in charge of Herod's mint, otherwise unknown, of the name of Tigranes. It is to be noted that this name actually occurs in Herod's family circle (Josephus, *Ant.* xviii. 5. 4 (139); *B.J.* i. 28. 1 (552)).

[3] G. A. Reisner, C. S. Fisher, D. G. Lyon, *Harvard Excavations at Samaria*, Pl. 42a and 42b.

[4] Rebuilt by Herod and called *Sebaste* in honour of the Emperor.

[5] *B.M. Catalogue*, Pl. xxv. 12, 13. The prow of the war-galley on the coin no. 13 may perhaps be interpreted as an indication of the pride Archelaus took in the possession of the two ports on the Mediterranean, Caesarea and Joppa.

[6] *B.M. Catalogue*, Pl. xxv. 6.

[7] See *B.M. Catalogue*, Pl. xxiv. 19. The subjects of Herod Philip were mostly Gentiles: even so this portrait on the coin of a professedly Jewish king is somewhat surprising.

These Herods have a strong family likeness. They are all great builders. They all play double parts: they are Jews at home and Romans abroad.

Archelaus had been promised the title of king if he ruled well. Instead of that he did so badly that an appeal against him to the Emperor procured his removal in A.D. 6; and it was decided that his territory should be administered, like the Alpine districts, by Procurators of equestrian rank residing at Caesarea. They proved to be a poor set of men, puffed up with a sense of their own authority. With the aid of auxiliary troops [1] they kept such order as they could.

Pontius Pilate was the fifth of them. Three of his coins, struck probably at Caesarea, are shown in Plate X. 27.[2]

The two first, with ears of barley on the obverse and a vessel resembling a simpulum on the reverse, are dated A.D. 29–30. The third, with a lituus[3] on the obverse and a wreath on the reverse, is dated A.D. 30–1.

A few years later the whole of Palestine was for a short period reunited under King Herod Agrippa I (A.D. 41–4),[4] boon companion in his early days of Caligula and friend of Claudius: unusually good-natured, otherwise a typical Herod. Plate X. 28 [5] gives a selection of his coins. The well-known fringed parasol occurs on coins dated in the year A.D. 42–3, inscribed *King Agrippa*. The head on coins nos. 3 and 4 is that of Caligula, and that on coin no. 5 is the head of Claudius.

Most remarkable of all is the coin shown on Plate XI. 29.[6] Here on the obverse is the diademed head of Agrippa

[1] 2,500 infantry and 500 horse.

[2] *B.M. Catalogue*, Pl. xxix. 3, 4, 5.

[3] From the lituus originated the bishop's crook. The first person who figures in Christian history with a crook is Pontius Pilate!

[4] He had received the northern kingdom which once had been Philip's on Caligula's accession in A.D. 37, and additions were subsequently made to this territory till it reached its maximum and became coextensive with the dominions of his grandfather Herod the Great in A.D. 41.

[5] *B.M. Catalogue*, Pl. xxvi. 1–5.

[6] From F. W. Madden's *Coins of the Jews* (1881), p. 133.

FIG. 26. Two coins of Herod Archelaus, and a coin of Herod Antipas

From 'Brit. Mus. Catalogue of Coins', by permission of the Trustees

FIG. 27. Three coins of Pontius Pilate

From 'Brit. Mus. Catalogue of Coins', by permission of the Trustees

FIG. 28. Coins of Herod Agrippa I

From 'Brit. Mus. Catalogue of Coins', by permission of the Trustees

himself with the inscription[1] ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑΣ ΦΙΛΟΚΑΙΣΑΡ. Agrippa had indeed overcome his Jewish scruples against human portraiture. At the same time he could bring the whole weight of his influence to bear on the side of the orthodox in the crisis of the winter 39–40 when the mad emperor (Caligula) ordered his statue to be set up within the precincts of the Temple at Jerusalem. It was largely owing to Agrippa that the order was countermanded at the last moment.

When Agrippa died his kingdom was not given to his son Agrippa II,[2] then a lad of seventeen. Instead it was placed under a new succession of Procurators who were made directly responsible to the governor of Syria.

The country was now getting more and more excited and turbulent. The Jews were not easy to govern, and Romans like Felix were not unprovocative. Tacitus had strong prejudices, but his condemnation of Felix is not utterly wide of the mark: 'With all manner of cruelty and lust he exercised royal functions in the spirit of a slave.'

Plate XI. 30 [3] gives two coins, one of which (*a*), with two oblong shields and two spears crossed on the obverse and a palm tree with two bunches of fruit on the reverse, dated in the year A.D. 54, is certainly Felix's. The other (*b*), with a palm branch on the obverse and an olive wreath on the reverse, is dated A.D. 58–9. It may well be attributed to Porcius Festus,[4] and the break in the series may mark his coming to Palestine. This, however, is an inference by no means certain, for the period of Felix's governorship seems to include more than one coin-type, and the series of the coins of the Procurators is notoriously incomplete. Still the change may perhaps suggest that Festus had arrived by A.D. 58–9. If this second coin is his, its peaceful emblems fittingly

[1] As on coin no. 5 already mentioned.

[2] Afterwards king of Chalcis and later of what had been the tetrarchy of Philip with some additions.

[3] *B.M. Catalogue*, Pl. xxix. 14, 17.

[4] As e.g. it is by de Saulcy but not by Madden or by G. F. Hill.

correspond with the wise and conciliatory character of his rule. But it was too late to save the situation, and under the two succeeding Procurators, and especially under the last, and, according to Josephus, the worst, Gessius Florus, the populace got right out of hand. Zealots, dagger-men (*sicarii*), prophets, and demagogues eagerly fomented discontent and stirred up wild hopes. At length rebellion broke out openly (A.D. 66). Cestius Gallus, the governor of Syria, tried to intervene with an insufficient force. The rebels scored an initial and misleading success. They were greatly encouraged and began to drill and arm themselves and to fortify and lay up supplies in their cities. They even produced new money of their own. The well-known thick shekels of silver are now assigned to the period of this revolt by the majority of recent numismatists.[1] Plate XI. 31 [2] shows one of these coins. On the obverse is a chalice with a knop on the stem, and a broad rim with a pearl under it on each side; above the chalice is the date [3] and around it the inscription in Hebrew, *Shekel of Israel*. On the reverse is a stem with three flowers and, again in Hebrew, *Jerusalem the Holy*.[4]

On the same photograph [5] is shown a coin struck at Caesarea in the year 67–8, perhaps after the arrival of Vespasian there (Josephus, *B.J.* iii. 9. 1). This coin has a bust of Nero on the obverse, and the figure of a city-goddess with the legend ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩ ΛΙΜΕΝ[Ι] and the date on the reverse.

The further arrival of Titus brought his father's army to a total of about 60,000 men, including three regular legions.

[1] See, above all, G. F. Hill, *Num. Chron.*, 1922, pp. 133–4. A. Reifenberg, *PEFQS*, 1927, pp. 47–50, argues against this conclusion but does not do justice to the evidence in favour of it.

[2] *B.M. Catalogue*, Pl. xxx. 1.

[3] In this instance of the year 1, i.e. A.D. 66–7. The years do not continue beyond year 5.

[4] Cf. 1 Macc. x. 31 and the inscriptions on the coins of several cities (e.g. Tyre and Sidon) in the second century B.C.

[5] *B.M. Catalogue*, Pl. ii. 11.

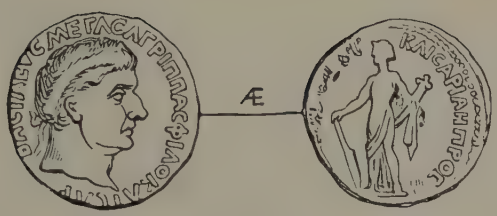


Fig. 29. Another coin of Agrippa I with portrait of himself
From F. W. Madden's 'Coins of the Jews' (1881)

a *b*

Fig. 30. Coins of the Procurators: Felix and (?) Festus
From 'Brit. Mus. Catalogue of Coins', by permission of the Trustees

Fig. 31. Coins struck during the revolt of A.D. 66–70
1. By the rebels. 2. At Caesarea
From 'Brit. Mus. Catalogue of Coins', by permission of the Trustees

Fig. 32. Coins struck in Judaea under Domitian

1. on the obverse: XF, the countermark of the Tenth Legion
2. on the reverse: Athena striding on a galley

From 'Brit. Mus. Catalogue of Coins', by permission of the Trustees

Fig. 33. Sestertius and dupondius struck at Rome commemorating the triumph of Vespasian

1. on the reverse: a Jewess seated mourning under a palm tree and Vespasian standing behind her holding spear and parazonium, with the inscription *Iudea Capta*
2. on the reverse: a winged figure of Victory standing on a prow, with the inscription *Victoria Navalis*

From Mattingley and Sydenham's 'Roman Imperial Coinage' by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum

Fig. 34. The river Jordan being carried in a triumphal procession (from the Arch of Titus)

From J. P. Bellorio, 'Admiranda Rom. Antiq.'

The wiser of the Jews now saw that the victory of the Romans was a foregone conclusion. Many important centres like Sepphoris surrendered without a blow; but in some, like Jotapata, the Romans encountered fierce resistance. There was desperate fighting at the capital before if fell on 8 Sept. A.D. 70, after five months of siege. In spite of Titus' express orders to the contrary, the Temple was set on fire and destroyed. A part only of the city wall was left standing, and it became the head-quarters of the Tenth Legion which was stationed at Jerusalem on garrison duty. Plate XII. 32 shows two bronze coins of Domitian struck in Palestine. The upper,[1] struck at Samaria (Sebaste), has upon it the countermark XF of the Legion; the lower,[2] with Domitian himself on the obverse (like the other), has Athena striding on a galley on the reverse.

Reference to victory at sea occurs also on the coins of Vespasian commemorating his Palestinian Triumph. Plate XII. 33[3] shows two coins, a sestertius and a dupondius, struck at Rome. Vespasian himself appears on the obverse of each. On the reverse of the sestertius, within the legend *Judaea Capta*, a Jewess is seated mourning under a palm tree, and Vespasian stands behind her holding a spear and parazonium. On the reverse of the dupondius is a winged figure of Victory standing on a prow, and round it the words *Victoria Navalis*. The reference is, no doubt, to the successful exercise of sea-power by which Vespasian cut off the supplies of his rival, Vitellius. The victory on land had been won, as Mr. Mattingly points out, by Antonius Primus against the orders of Vespasian and Mucianus. It was natural therefore for Vespasian to emphasize the importance of his naval operations.[4]

[1] *Ibid.*, Pl. viii. 8.

[2] *Ibid.*, Pl. xxxi. 10.

[3] H. Mattingly and E. A. Sydenham, *Rom. Imp. Coinage*, ii, Pl. ii. 29, 32.

[4] A number of Jewish ships, including some privateers, were actually destroyed at Joppa (Josephus, *B.J.* iii. 9. 1–4).

The last photograph (34) [1] gives one of the smaller and less familiar panels of the Arch of Titus. The river Jordan is being carried in Titus' great Triumphal procession in Rome.[2]

Palestine as a whole was by no means laid waste by the war; and a new chapter in Judaism was opened by Joḥanan ben Zakkai and his friends and pupils in the vineyard at Jamnia.

[1] J. P. Bellorio, *Admiranda Rom. Antiq.*, Pl. 6.

[2] Similarly Persius speaks of the Rhine being carried in a Triumph celebrating a victorious campaign in Germany.

PALESTINE IN GENERAL HISTORY

III

PETRA AND PALMYRA

By Professor F. C. BURKITT, D.D., F.B.A.

PETRA AND PALMYRA

Oppidum . . . *Petram* nomine in conualle . . . circumdatum montibus inaccessis amne interfluente. Pliny, *N.H.* vi. 28.

Palmyra urbs . . . uelut terris exempta a rerum natura priuata sorte inter duo imperia summa Romanorum Parthorumque.

Pliny, *N.H.* v. 25.

III

PETRA AND PALMYRA

THE subject of this series of Schweich Lectures is defined as 'Palestine in general history', the secular background to the religious evolution. Nevertheless I shall begin my discourse like a sermon with a text from Holy Writ. In the ancient Song of Deborah we read that 'in the days of Shamgar the highways were unoccupied, and the travellers walked through byways'. If we go on to ask why, the answer is clear. The country was disturbed, the nations were at war, the natural routes were just the places where you met with soldiers. It was safer and even quicker, if you had to travel, to find out a back way, even if it was steep or desert. We may also believe that people who lived on or near these more difficult tracks found a certain profit in the dislocation of the ordinary traffic. Wealth passed by their huts or their tents, and no doubt some percentage of it passed legitimately or illegitimately into their hands. As I hope to show, the prosperity of the Desert Cities, Petra and Palmyra, is not unconnected with the wars of the greater Powers, the rivalry of the King of the North and the King of the South, the rivalry of East and West.

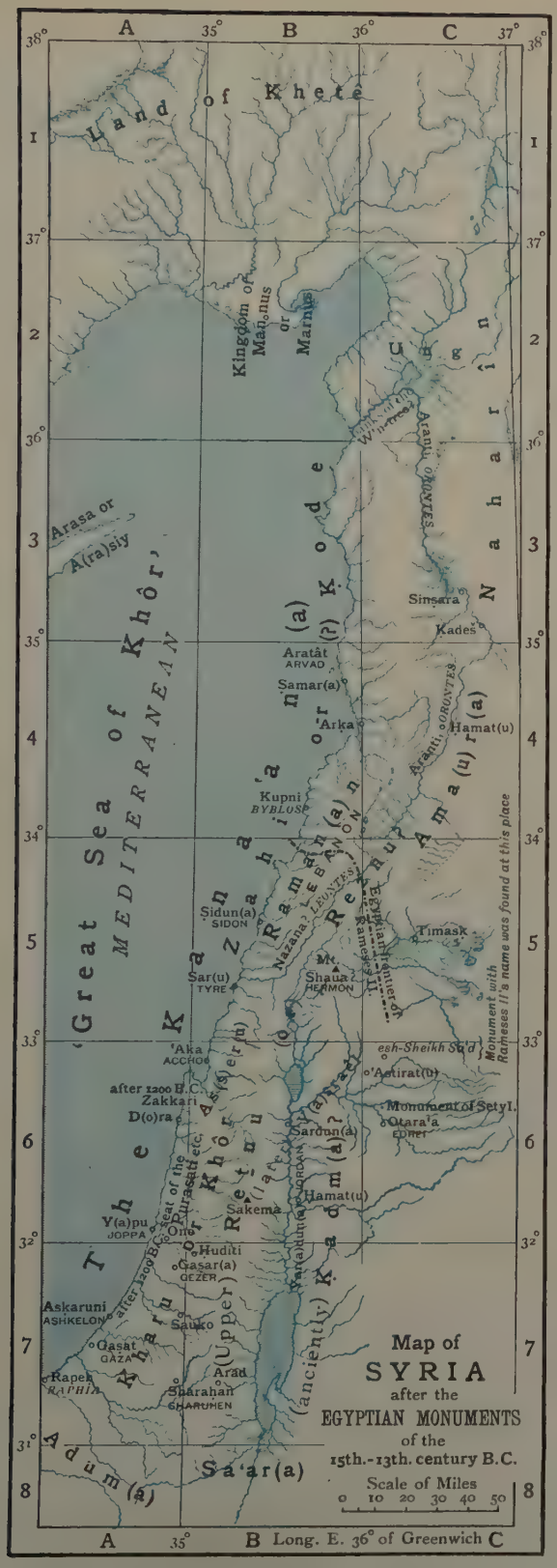
There is another famous Saying that I wish to quote, a Saying ascribed to Jesus Christ, though not to be found in the New Testament. On the ruined Gate of Fatehpur Sikri the Mogul Emperor Akbar caused to be carved this Inscription: 'Jesus said, "The world is a Bridge; you are to pass over it and not to build your dwellings upon it".' I quote this maxim here, because however appropriate it may be to the habitable Earth in general it is still more appropriate to Palestine in particular. We, with the Bible for our Sacred Book, tend too much to think of the Holy Land as a place of settlement. We read how the Children of Israel con-

quered Palestine and established themselves there; we grieve when they are carried away into exile and rejoice when some at least of the exiles return. But when we study the general history of mankind and trace the general course of events in the Orient, Palestine is of little importance for its own sake as a place to live in: its importance is that of the great channel of communication between South and North, Egypt and Mesopotamia. In a word, it is essentially a Bridge.

Maps make the matter clearer than any verbal description.

We read a great deal in the Bible about going down into Egypt. By what road did they go down? And further, when they went to Assyria and Babylon, what is the natural route? It is curious that it is not easy to find direct answers out of the Bible narratives. Neither Ezra nor Nehemiah gives his itinerary, nor do we know the stages by which Jeremiah was taken into Egypt. Perhaps the central geographical facts may be best inferred from the many battles fought at or near Megiddo, and from the presence both of Pharaoh Necho and of Nebuchadnezzar at Riblah on the Orontes (2 Kings xxiii. 33, xxv. 20), i. e. somewhere near Ḥomṣ. The actual site of Megiddo I need not here discuss, but it is clearly to be found on the south side of the Plain of Esdraelon (i. e. Jezreel), east of Mount Carmel and of the modern city of Ḥaifa. How did Pharaoh Necho go on from Megiddo to Riblah? We do not know for certain, but it is much the most likely that he went by Damascus. There is no practicable road along the upper Jordan Valley by the Ḥuleh marshes and Banias: either one follows the coast, past the Phoenician Cities as far as Tripoli; or one crosses the Jordan near the Sea of Galilee and arrives at the fertile plain of Coele-Syria by skirting the east side of Mount Hermon, thus passing through the oasis of Damascus.

The way along the Phoenician coast is bad in places even now; before the modern road was engineered it must have been very difficult for an army. That indeed was the cause



From *Encyclopaedia Biblica* (Messrs. A. & C. Black, Ltd.)

PALESTINE

THE BRIDGE BETWEEN EGYPT AND MESOPOTAMIA

and protection of the prosperity of the famous Phoenician trading Cities. They had the Lebanon at their back, they were hard to approach by north or south, and their own ships commanded the Sea. So they occupied their shelf of

land, undisturbed for the most part and able to be 'careless after the manner of the Sidonians, quiet and secure',[1] because they did not live on an international route.

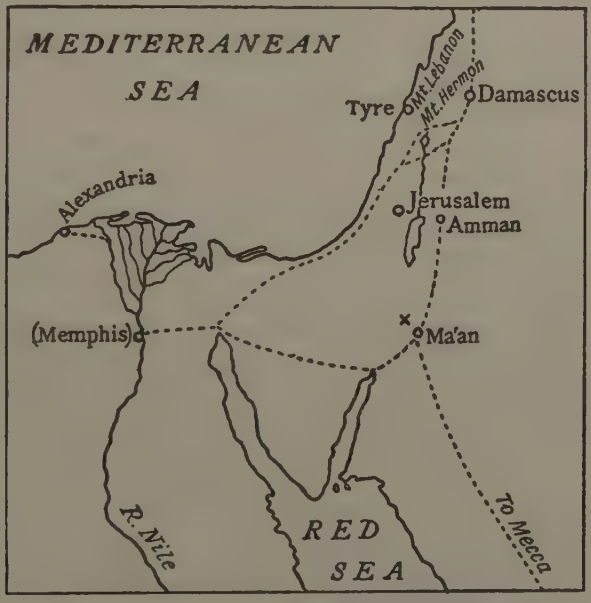
So the main route went by Damascus and then north by Emesa (Ḥomṣ) and Ḥamath, from whence it was easy to reach Aleppo, turn east, cross the Euphrates, and so proceed to Nineveh (Mosul) and down the Tigris to Babylon. To float down the Euphrates itself was long and wearisome. The Great River flows through desert country for long distances, and it was easier and just as short a way to the fertile country to go past Ḥarrān (Carrhae) and Niṣībis by the belt of settled lands between the mountains on the north and the desert on the south. That was the regular route to and from Babylon, the route taken by Abraham, by Seleucus, and now by the Baghdad Railway.

From what I have been saying you see that our Bridge between Babylon and Egypt contains one fixed point—Damascus. That city has had a chequered political history, but throughout its long existence its importance has been that of the place which the traveller must pass through. But to go from Damascus to Egypt there is a choice of routes. The front way, the natural way, is through Galilee and Esdraelon to the maritime Philistine Plain, and so past Gaza, through a short bit of desert, across 'the River of Egypt' to Zoan (i. e. Tanis) and the Pelusiac branch of the Nile. But there was a back way. It was not for everybody to travel, for the road was through the desert for many days together. From Damascus southwards through the lands of Bashan and Gilead there are many fertile spots, and flourishing towns have been built there both in ancient and modern days, but south of ʿAmmān, the Rabbath Ammon of the Bible, the Philadelphia of Graeco-Roman civilization and now after centuries of desertion the capital of Transjordania, there are no towns. The country is stony desert. Here and there are wells, or places where a little water may be found by digging for it, but the traveller

[1] Judges xviii. 7.

From *The Decline and Fall of the Hebrew Kingdoms* (Clarendon Press)

ought to carry his own supply, he will do well not to trust to what he may find on the way. Sometimes for miles together the desert track leads through regions of black stones; not a blade of grass, not a scrap of grey lichen is to be seen—a country that is 'bone-dry'. About a hundred miles south of ʿAmmān, when the traveller has left the desolate shores of the Dead Sea behind him on his right, he comes to the town or hamlet of Maʿān, where the routes diverge. That



PETRA (MARKED WITH A CROSS)
AND ITS CONNEXIONS

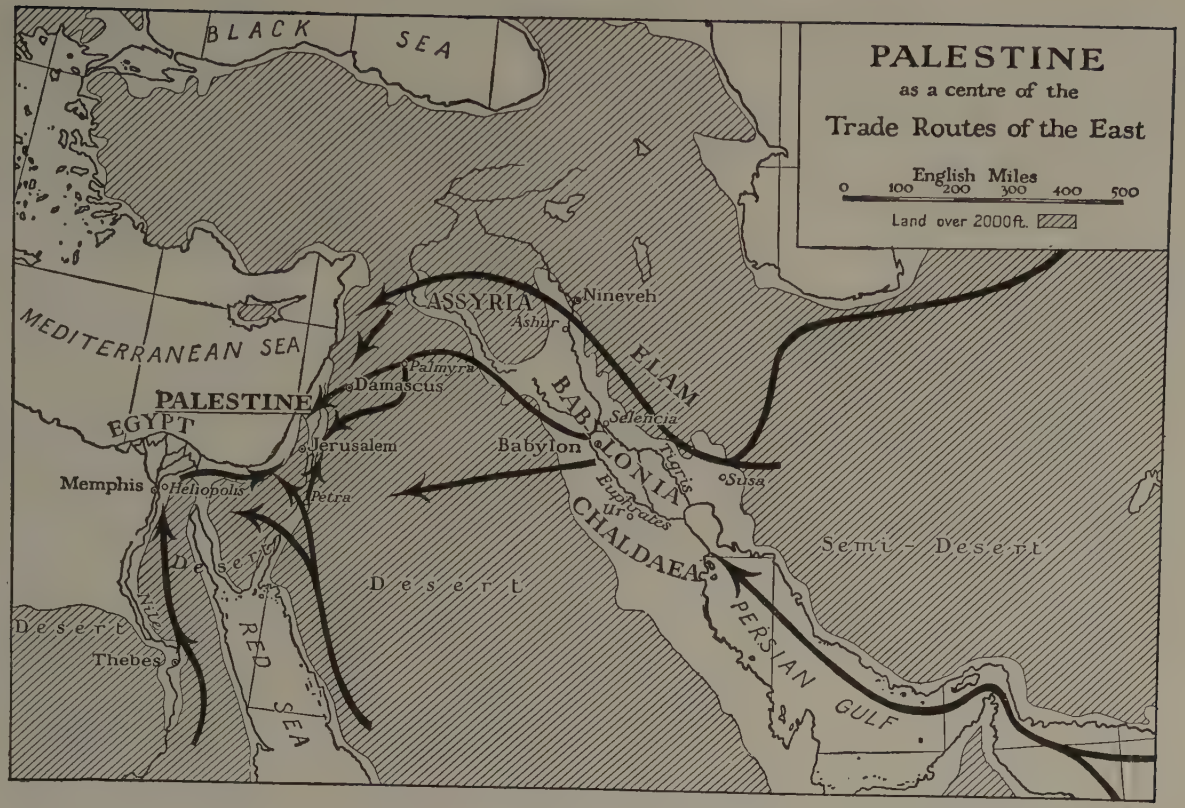
to the left goes through the Arabian Desert to Medina and Mecca, for it is along this desolate route that the Faithful trudged for the Pilgrimage: it was a road long before that, for it is the highway to Yemen and the lands from whence come the spices of Arabia. That which goes straight on takes the traveller to the head of the Gulf of ʿAḳaba, whence he can go by sea, or by another desert route through the Sinaitic Peninsula, to Suez, called in ancient times Colzum or Clesma. There he comes into touch with the civilization of Egypt.

Ma'ān, known to the Jews as Maon, is no doubt an ancient site, though no antiquities are to be seen. But there are wells of water, which are the cause of its existence then and now.

To travel by such a route as I have described two things are necessary. There must be a system of co-operative travel, in a word, a Caravan system under the direction of those who know the way across the trackless waste to stopping-places where a little water can be obtained; and there must be a system of protection against desert robbers. The Desert is not wholly uninhabited: the Arab who knows every water-hole in his district can pasture his animals where all looks dried up, and he can hide them, and himself too, where there seems to be no cover. The unprotected traveller is his natural prey, but he will not risk attacking a well-armed caravan.

And now I return to the text from which I started. The great Persian Empire ended for a time the rivalry of Egypt and Babylon by including both these ancient realms within its borders. The subjects of the King of Kings could travel from the shores of the Caspian to Mesopotamia and over the Palestinian Bridge to Egypt without ever touching the territory of a foreign potentate. For two hundred years Syria and Palestine were at peace. Egypt itself rebelled from time to time, but the Persians always succeeded in reasserting their authority: in any case the wars did not spread to Palestine, and at least they served to keep the route from Persia to Egypt open. The front way, the way by Esdraelon and the Maritime Plain, must have been in full use, and the unity of political power must have greatly increased the volume of trade between the countries and accustomed them to a demand for foreign produce.

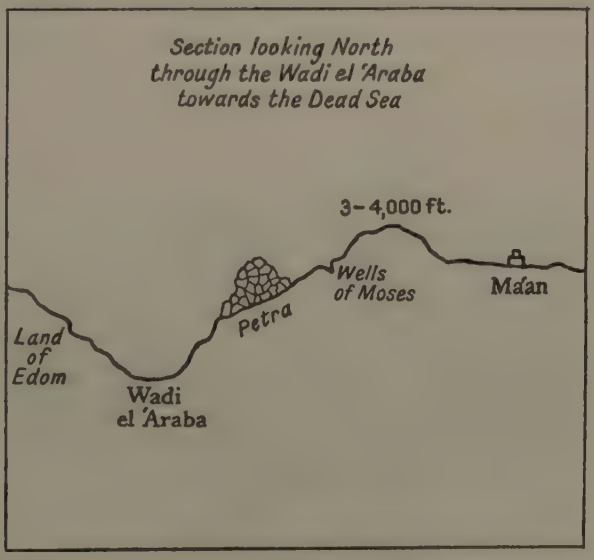
Then came like a flash of lightning the epoch-making conquests of Alexander, and when Alexander was gone the empire fell to pieces. In particular, Egypt became one realm under the Ptolemies and northern Syria and Mesopotamia became another under the Seleucids. The Bridge



From *The Decline and Fall of the Hebrew Kingdoms* (Clarendon Press)

PLATE XV

of land between them became a bone of contention: the King of the South and the King of the North, as the Book of Daniel calls them, were almost continually at war. And what was the result? 'The highways were unoccupied'—of that we may be sure; and the travellers walked through the by-way of the Desert, where neither Ptolemy nor Seleucus nor Antigonus held sway, but only the Arab, or as the Greeks then called them, the Nabataeans. It is in the period



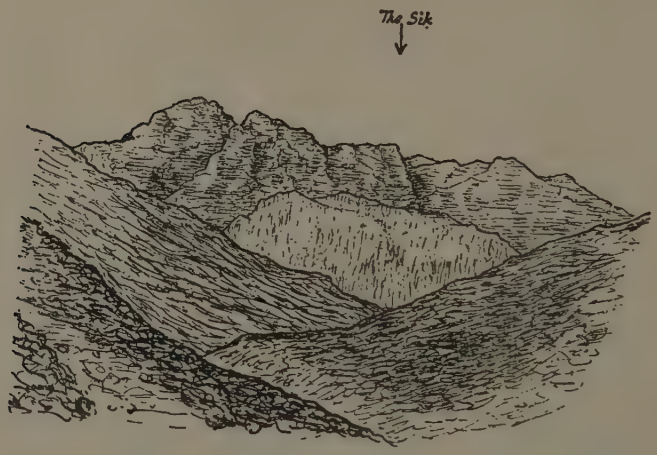
PETRA

immediately after Alexander that we first hear of the Nabataeans and of Petra their famous stronghold.

As you have heard, Maʿān is a great junction of roads to Syria, to the distant Arabian spice-lands, to Egypt; and the traveller must pass through it, for it has wells in an almost waterless land. But the lord of Maʿān had a further jewel, the possession of which rendered him amazingly secure. A dozen miles away westward from Maʿān was a natural fortress, one of the wonders of the world. Maʿān itself is on the great Arabian plateau, which here gently slopes up towards the west till it attains a height of three to four thousand feet. Then comes the great crack that extends up

the whole of Palestine, forming in the south the Gulf of ʿAḳaba, the prolongation of which is the desolate dry valley called the Wadi el-ʿAraba, which leads directly to the Dead Sea and beyond that to the Jordan Valley. The sides of this great crack are almost everywhere steep, and nowhere more so than in the region west of Maʿān, where there is a great outcrop of sandstone, which stands up like a giant's castle on the sloping eastern side of the Wadi el-ʿAraba.

Somewhat below the crest of the mountains on the side



VIEW OF THE MOUNTAINS OF PETRA
(*Looking West down the valley from near the Wells of Moses*)

looking down to the ʿAraba there is, by some freak of geological formation, a copious spring welling out from a cave. It is known as 'the Wells of Moses'. The water finds its way down the hill westward in an open valley. Following its course the traveller sees before him an immense stack of fantastically shaped rock, blocking up the whole valley, and he wonders how he or the stream will win through. Once no doubt the valley had not been washed out and the stream flowed over the top of the sandstone 'castle'. But as the valley deepened the stream cut through the fine hard sandstone like a chisel, and in this almost rainless region there were no droppings to wear away the sides. The result

is what the Arabs call the *Sīḳ*,[1] a deep ghyll often not more than 12 feet wide and fully two hundred feet deep, that cuts through the mass of sandstone. You follow this natural lane for a mile or more, then suddenly the path turns to the right, and you see before you a great rose-red cliff which has been carved out to make the façade of a Grecian Temple. I do not know the exact dimensions, but it is comparable with the front of S. Martin's in Trafalgar Square, all cut out of the solid rock. A quarter of a mile farther the rock is not so hard, and the gully opens out into an amphitheatre of cliffs. This is Petra, and here are the remains of some buildings—houses, temples, &c.—built as houses are usually built, stone upon stone. Elsewhere in Petra they are all cut out of the sandstone cliffs.

Below the open amphitheatre the gorge begins again, now called the *Siāgh*. It is broader than the Sīḳ, and after about half a mile the water of the stream, that all this while has been flowing underground under the debris of the rock that it has excavated, comes once more to the surface. Further on the valley ends in impracticable precipices and the water falls over into the ʿAraba in cascades, evaporating as it falls. Petra was safe from invasion on that side.

There are indeed difficult ways by which you can get into Petra over the mountains, but they are precipitous, and you need to know the way well, or you are stopped by impassible rocks. The main way in and out is by the Sīḳ, by the narrow ghyll. It is obvious how difficult it would be for an invader to force an entrance.

Travellers are rightly enthusiastic over the grandeur and picturesqueness of the scene, the fantastic shapes and gorgeous colour of the cliffs, and the endless series of rock-cut chambers, generally called without discrimination 'tombs'. But I would first of all direct attention to the strategical advantages of Petra. Maʿān with its wells was the key to all the Desert Route; the ruler of Maʿān controlled the

[1] The word was sometimes used in Christian Arabic for 'laura': it may be derived from *σηκόσ*.

Desert Route and reaped its rich profits. And in Petra, only a few miles away, yet in absolute security, he had an inexpugnable refuge for himself, his men and his cattle, and an ideal Treasure House. That is what Petra was—a Bank, a Safe Deposit. The rock-cut chambers were not all of them mere tombs, were not exclusively tombs. Some I venture to think were dwellings, but many of them, especially those which have interior side-chambers, were admirably adapted for the storage of valuable goods, and in the dry atmosphere of Petra there was neither moth nor rust to corrupt. No wonder that as the wars between the Seleucid and Ptolemaic dynasties continued, and the high-road remained unsafe, the Desert Route was used by traders and their tolls enriched the Nabataean king who was the Lord of Petra.

The history of Petra is told in a paragraph. We first hear of the Nabataeans in 311 B.C., when Antigonus, one of the successors of Alexander, attempted to subdue them, but the Greeks failed to penetrate into the desert fastness: whether Petra itself had already been occupied by the Nabataeans we do not know, but the realm of which Petra was in later times the stronghold is that of the Nabataeans. From time to time we have glimpses of their kings, and of their increasing power and dominion as that of the successors of Alexander waned. Their rise was simultaneous with and in a way parallel to that of the Jews under the Maccabees. For the most part Jews and Nabataeans interfered little with one another: the Jews had little concern with the Desert Route, and the progress of Nabataean dominion in the Land of Gilead was not a menace to their ambitions. As the central government fell more and more to pieces the Nabataeans controlled ever longer portions of the Desert Route: in 85 B.C. they actually came into possession of Damascus itself. It was a Nabataean princess that Herod Antipas deserted to take up with Herodias, and later than that it was 'the ethnarch of King Haretas', obviously from his name a Nabataean, who was in a position of some

authority at Damascus when S. Paul was let down from the wall of the city in a basket.[1]

But the great days of the Nabataeans were over. The *Pax Romana* now prevailed over all the Orient, so that the old route by Gaza was safe again. Moreover the new empire, whose centre was in Rome, was maritime as no former empire had been. The Mediterranean had been cleared of pirates. It was safe and easy to reach the great mart of Antioch and the road to the far East by sea, and both the Phoenician merchant towns and the inland oasis of Damascus lost their immemorial monopoly. The Sea itself had become a Bridge, competing with Palestine.[2]

In A.D. 107 Trajan suppressed the kingdom of Petra, and the ancient treasure-city was henceforth administered by a Roman Governor. In due course it became the seat of a Christian Bishop. But it had lost its old importance: it was now a backwater of civilization. It was one of the outlying spots where Pagan rites lingered long, and the account of the sanctuary in Suidas (*s.v.* ΘΕΥCΑΡΗC) is clearly derived from one who had seen the place.

What was the religion of Petra? First of all, it is important to remember what sort of people they were. They were Arabs by race, as is clear from their names: such names, for instance, as 'Aretas' (Ἀρέταϛ) are clearly Arabic, being the Greek equivalent of *Ḥāritha*, meaning Lion. But the language they use for their inscriptions is Aramaic, the *lingua franca* of the East from the collapse of the Babylonian Empire to the rise of Islam. The use of Aramaic shows that the Nabataean state was essentially Oriental and alien from the Hellenism which Alexander the Great and his successors represented. But as this Oriental state became wealthy and powerful the Hellenic influence began to make itself felt. One of the Nabataean kings had the surname Philhellene, and the architecture of the monuments of Petra is

[1] 2 Cor. xi. 32.

[2] Note how in the Book of Acts no one seems to think of going from Jerusalem to Antioch by land.

mostly debased Greek in style. I do not think we need expect to find any very distinctive or original monuments of Religion in this upstart, trading, half-barbarous state.

The great God of Petra was called *Dūsharā*.[1] This is not a name but a title and means 'Lord of Sharā', like the 'Baal of Lebanon' worshipped by some of the Phoenicians. There is some reason for thinking that he was believed to be sprung from a sacred Stone that was the great Palladium of Petra. Dushara seems to have been essentially a national Deity, like Asshur the God of the Assyrians: we may regard him as the Spirit of the Mountains that protected Petra and gave it prosperity.[2]

The view of Petra that I have here put forward is that it attained to importance and wealth during, and to some extent as a consequence of, the long wars between Egypt and Syria, between the House of Ptolemy and the House of Seleucus. We must now turn to Palmyra, which in the striking words of Pliny lies excluded from the habitable earth and so occupies an independent niche between the empires of the Romans and the Parthians.[3]

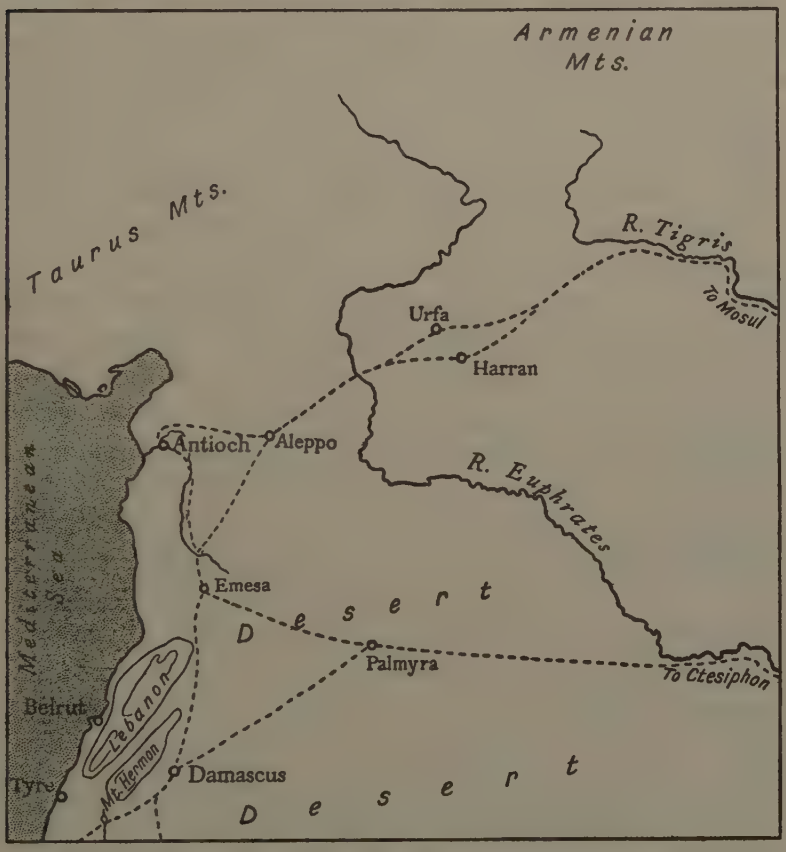
The natural route to Babylon and the East, as we have seen, follows the line now taken more or less by the Baghdad Railway. That is to say, it crosses the Euphrates at its most westerly bend and then strikes east, in the belt between the mountains of Armenia and the Syrian Desert, past Carrhae, or as it is called in the Bible Haran (Ḥarrān), and so to Nineveh and the Tigris valley. During the wars between the Ptolemies and Seleucids, when Palestine was a frontier state and Petra rose to power, this route was wholly in Seleucid hands. New cities in its region were founded, notably Edessa (now Urfa), afterwards the focus of Syriac-speaking Christianity. But the name Carrhae at once suggests to every one Crassus and the Parthians. When the

[1] Generally written *Δουσάρησ* by the Greeks. In the inscriptions it is spelt דושרא.

[2] On Dushara and the Religion of Petra, see the separate Note.

[3] See Pliny, *N.H.* v. 25, quoted as a motto to this Lecture.

Seleucid Empire fell to pieces the Greek dominion of Mesopotamia ceased for ever, and a north-Persian dynasty, whom we know as the Parthians, became the overlords of the lands east of the Euphrates. The Romans never had dominion over the Parthians; the defeat of Crassus in 53 B.C.



PALMYRA AND ITS CONNEXIONS

marks the end of the period when Europeans were rulers of Babylonia.

About the year A.D. 220 the Parthian rule itself came to an end, but their successors were not the Romans but the Sasanians, a still more definitely Persian and Oriental dynasty, which lasted till the coming of Islam. With both Parthians and Sasanians the Roman Empire was frequently

at war: the intervals of peace were short, and once again it is instructive to learn that the travellers are found going along by-ways.

Palmyra is first heard of in 42 B.C., and there is nothing in the existing remains to suggest a much earlier date for the city, though of course semi-nomad Arabs may have had their settlements round the natural wells from time immemorial.[1] At Petra what is so impressive is the grandeur and picturesqueness of the scene; at Palmyra it is the utter remoteness.

From Damascus to the Euphrates is over 300 miles, and the track is desert the whole way. But by bearing to the north, or still better by going due east from Emesa on the upper waters of the Orontes, you come half-way across the desert to a place where a range of hills which extends indefinitely to the north comes to an end, dominating the vast flat plain of the great Syrian Desert. At the foot of these hills are some springs: one in particular issues from a sort of cave and flows on as a perennial brook for a mile or two, till it loses itself in a vast shallow salt Lake. The water is clear, a steely blue-grey in colour, but it smells and tastes like a bad egg. For all that it can be drunk, and it irrigates a palm-grove and a few fields. There are other springs, all more or less sulphureous, but they make life possible in the otherwise waterless desert. This is Palmyra: from Emesa (Ḥomṣ) it is about 90 miles, from Damascus about 140, and another 140 miles brings the traveller to the banks of the Euphrates and a clear road to Babylonia.

If Petra be defended by its precipices, Palmyra is defended by its remoteness. It is almost a hundred miles from anywhere. Nothing, as I said just now, is known of it in early times. In 311 B.C. Seleucus Nicator hurrying with a few faithful companions from Palestine to Babylon goes by

[1] There is no probability that the Tadmor (or rather Tamar) mentioned in 1 Kings ix. 18 was anywhere even in the neighbourhood of Palmyra. It is clearly somewhere south of Judaea.

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the northern route past Ḥarrān, he does not go by Palmyra. But when the Seleucid Empire was perishing, and barbarians from the Armenian hills were taking possession of the great trade-route, the Arabs who lived round the sulphur-laden wells found that the carrying trade between East and West was a more profitable concern than eking out a scanty livelihood in their desert home.

The times were favourable. Between the Roman Empire and the Parthians there was little love lost, but Palmyra, once more to quote Pliny, had a position outside the territories of either the Romans or the Parthians, yet lying between the two. The citizens of Palmyra grew rich and prosperous. Stone, at least, was abundant, and great Temples and public buildings rose up in the solitude. One great feature was a long colonnade, flanking the main street. On the pillars were brackets, made to support the statues of worthy citizens, and from extant inscriptions it seems that the special and characteristic road to fame was the successful organization and conducting of great caravans.

So for nearly three hundred years Palmyra grew and prospered. Then came half a century of glory, followed by utter collapse. In the year 226 the Parthian Empire came to an end, and its place was taken by the Sasanians. This was more than a mere change of dynasty. The new monarchy was strongly Persian, representing a revival of the Persian nationality and the Zoroastrian religion, and the new King of Kings began to dream of restoring the dominion of Darius and Xerxes over Syria and Asia Minor. Almost simultaneously the Roman Empire went through a period of serious crisis. From 250 to 270 it seemed to be breaking up altogether. Among other misfortunes the Emperor Valerian was captured in battle by Shapur (Sapor) the Persian monarch about the year 260, and the Persians overran the Eastern Empire. Antioch was captured, the Taurus forced, and the Persians penetrated to Caesarea in Cappadocia. The Romans were meanwhile too much

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occupied with invasions of barbarians all over their northern frontier, from the Bosporus to Gaul, to be able to recover their Asiatic dominions.

Palmyra at this time was governed by a chief called Odainath, or as classical writers spell it Odenathus.[1] The steps by which a nominally republican Council and People of Palmyra had been practically superseded by a hereditary chieftainship are unknown to us: in any case Odenathus comes before us as undisputed Lord of Palmyra, or Tadmor (to give it its Semitic name). His overtures of friendship having been refused by Shapur, he was driven to organize the Arabs and the peasants of Syria into armed resistance. At Palmyra he was secure; it was too far in the desert to be raided by the Persian cavalry, for the Persians never at any time were able to provide their forces with an orderly commissariat, and in several encounters the Palmyrenes held their own, even when the tide of Eastern invasion was elsewhere running strong. As usual, however, it soon began to ebb. After about A. D. 265 Shapur seems to have abandoned his dream of holding Syria and Asia Minor: he died in 271, and his son was a weakling. Before Shapur's death Odenathus with his Palmyrenes occupied Syria, and even Egypt, in the name of the Roman Emperor Gallienus, who recognized him as an ally and rewarded him with titles. The Lord of Palmyra fixed his court at Emesa, and at the time of his death, which occurred in 267 (the year before Gallienus died), he was virtually the Emperor of the Roman East.

Odenathus was succeeded by his widow Zenobia, who governed in the name of her young son Wahballath.[2] She was recognized in her position by Claudius the vanquisher of the Goths, who succeeded Gallienus, and by Aurelian who succeeded Claudius in 270. In the first year of his

[1] אדינת (= أُذَيْنَة) : the name may mean 'Little Adonis'.

[2] Called by Greeks Athenodorus. Zenobia's Aramaic name and title was 'Septimia Bath-Zabbai, the Illustrious and Righteous, the Queen' (Cooke, *N.S.I.*, p. 292).

reign he was occupied in driving back the Alemanni, but in 271 Zenobia and Aurelian seem to have become convinced that there could be only one ruler of the East, and neither was disposed to yield without a struggle.

Zenobia had some excuse for her miscalculation of the chances. Ever since she had been concerned with public affairs she had seen the Roman armies beaten, and her own nation had successfully repulsed the conquerors of Valerian. Of the real resources of the Empire she was no doubt imperfectly aware, more particularly of the discipline and pertinacity of the Roman troops when well led. She must have been ignorant of the steady pressure of sea-power upon the Mediterranean borderlands, by virtue of which the Roman troops could continuously be provisioned and reinforced. But however this may have been she set her fortunes on the chances of war, and a single campaign sufficed to ruin her and her upstart empire. Probus, Aurelian's second in command, turned Zenobia's forces out of Egypt, while her own army failed at Chalcedon and abandoned Asia Minor to Aurelian. She made a stand at Antioch but was driven back, and finally her army was utterly defeated at Emesa itself.

Zenobia took refuge in Palmyra, but the Palmyrenes very soon found out the difference between a Roman army and the horde that followed the Oriental Great King. It is about 90 miles from Emesa to Palmyra and at least 70 miles of this is waterless desert. But the army of Aurelian crossed the desolate waste, and regular convoys of water and provisions were organized. The Persians were powerless to help, and Zenobia despaired. She left the city on a swift dromedary, but was captured, and Palmyra soon afterwards surrendered.

This was in 272. Aurelian treated Palmyra with great lenity, but on his departure, when he had scarcely arrived at the Bosporus, the Palmyrenes rose, massacred the Roman garrison, and raised the standard of revolt. Aurelian hastened back, recaptured the city and this time practically

destroyed it. Later it rose from its ruins, but it never recovered political or commercial prosperity. Lying in its remote solitude its old stones have not been needed for medieval buildings, as was the case with so many ancient seats of civilization, including Emesa itself. Enough still remains standing at Palmyra to impress the traveller and attract the artist. Now in these last times since the war the motor-car has conferred a new importance on the desert town. With a car the quick route to Baghdad, and on to Persia, is from Beyrout in Syria to Damascus or Ḥomṣ, and so over the desert via Palmyra to the Euphrates. Political troubles in Soviet Russia and Republican Turkey make the more natural routes through these countries for the time impracticable. So once again, as in the days of old, the highways are unoccupied and the travellers are glad to make use of desert by-ways, though they no longer walk or even bestride camels.

ON DUSARES AND THE RELIGION OF PETRA

The best-attested item in the religion of Petra is the name of Dhū Sharā (Δουσάρης, דושרא, ذو الشرا). ذو means 'Lord of' and corresponds to Baal. The evidence that the mountain-range of Petra was really called *Sharā* is not very strong, but it certainly was the name of other ranges of hills, and absence of direct attestation by Yaḳut and other such Arabic scholars means little more than that the hills of Petra do not happen to be alluded to in 'classical' Arabian poetry. In any case the Arabic evidence is decisive that the first syllable is the Arabic word *Dhū*. Thus the God of Petra was worshipped under a territorial name, a fact which is almost enough to show that he was regarded rather as the local Genius than as the personification of some general force of Nature, such as the Sun.

The next most certain thing is the description of the

symbol of Dhū Sharā in Suidas, under the name ΘΕΥϹΑΡΗϹ, because it is evidently derived from some one who had seen it. Suidas derives the name from Θεὸσ Ἄρησ, which is of course absurd, as Bochart pointed out centuries ago. But Suidas goes on to say: 'The sacred image (ἄγαλμα) is a black stone, four-sided but unshaped, 4 ft. high and 2 ft. broad, and it rests on a base of beaten gold-work: to this they sacrifice and pour out the blood of their oblations before it, that being their form of libation. And the Shrine (οἶκοσ) is all adorned with gold and many votive offerings.'

In several places, notably in a little shrine in the wall of the Sīḳ, there are plain upright stones: we may regard these as representations of the sacred Image (*Revue Biblique*, xii. 287).

The Greek writers who identify Dhū Sharā with Dionysos, or other Graeco-Roman deities do not appear to have been well informed. On the other hand Epiphanius must have had something to go upon when he tells us that 'at the city of Petra, a metropolis of Arabia,' there is an annual festival in the temple of the birth of the God from a Virgin-Mother, apparently on December 25, and that 'they hymn the Virgin in the Arabic language, calling her ΧΑΑΒΟΥ, that is, Maiden or Virgin, and him that is born from her ΔΟΥϹΑΡΗΝ, that is, Only Son of the Lord. And this happens at Eleusis on the same night as there in Petra and in Alexandria', i.e. on December 25.[1] No doubt this was some form of winter-solstice festival. If the name Χααβου is correct, it may correspond to the Meccan *Kaaba* (الكعبة, 'shaped like a die'). But the -ΟΥ is not easy to explain, and כעבו does not occur on any Nabataean inscription. On the other hand הבלו *Hobalu* does occur in connexion with Dhū Sharā (Cooke, *N.S.I.* 220), so that possibly ΧΑΑΒΟΥ may only be a miswriting of ΟΒΑΛΟΥ or some such form.[2]

The best description of the great High Place at Petra,

[1] Epiphanius, *Haer.* li (*Oehler*, vol. ii, p. 633).

[2] Possibly it is a corruption of ΟΥ-Β-Α-Λ, *written backwards.*

commonly called Zib ʿaṭuf, is by Father M. R. Savignac, to be found in the *Revue Biblique*, vol. xii (1903), pp. 280–8.

The Nabataean name for Petra is not known for certain. Jerome identified 'the Rock' of 2 Kings xiv. 7 (הסלע, *τὴν πέτραν*) with 'Petra', in which he was almost certainly wrong, for there is nothing to show that Edom ever included any places east of the great crack (Wadi el-ʿAraba), and many strongholds in such a country would have been naturally known as 'the Rock' (in Hebrew *Sela*ʿ.) But he adds the interesting statement that Petra is called *Recem* by Syrians, i. e. the same name as the רקם which is mentioned Numbers xxxi. 8, Josh. xiii. 21: see Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra*, 145, 10; 146, 1.

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